THE EPISTLE CONGRATULATORIE OF Lysimachus Nicanor

Of the Societie of JESU,

TO THE

COVENANTERS IN SCOTLAND.

VVherin is paralleled our sweet Harmony and correspondency in divers materiall points of Doctrine and Practice.

JUDG. V. XXIII.

Curse ye Meroz (said the Angel of the Lord) curse ye bitterly the Inhabitants thereof: because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the Mightie.

JER. I. X.

See, I have this day set thee over the Nations, and over the Kingdomes, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw downe, to build, and to plant.

Anno Domini M. DC. XL.

LYSIMACHUS NICANOR
of the Societie of JESU,
TO THE COVENANTERS IN SCOTLAND,
Wisheth full Union and Peace with us.

I Doe heartily congratulate with you (*most worthy Brethren of the holy League*) and also rejoyce in behalfe of our Mother-Church of *Rome* at your begun returne from your former errors and heresies. This puts us in expectation that shortly your return shall be full: for seeing in so short time, and with so good successe, you have forsaken the former erroneous Doctrine of the *Protestants* concerning the *Civill Magistrate*, and have happily joyned with us, you wil also betimes abjure all that yet remaineth. You have so well begun at the *Head*, the *Civill Magistrate*, that wee trust you shall embrace the remanent members of our doctrine with a continued successe, whereof you may justly glory.

Quod fortuna ratum faciat quis dicere falsum
Audeat, & tanta suffragia vincere sorte?

I remember the salutation that was given to the Scots Protector (who is now our holy Father *Pope Urbanus*) about the time of his inauguration and consecration to be Pope, *Salve Protector Scotorum*, and of his answer, *Agnosco nomen & omen*: And now hee is more ready to protect you then ever hee was, since you draw so neere unto him. And yet at your last defection to your King againe at the Camp, wee feared your revolt to your rejected Protestant doctrine: but this your last Protestation, wherein you recollect your strength, puts us in hope that you will not returne to your vomit. 1. *Julii*, 1639.

And albeit the Anticovenanters thinke you so neere the height of impiety, that they say,

Nil erit ulterius quod vestris moribus addat
Posteritas.

Yet we thinke it is praise worthy that you are come to such degrees of perfection, that your posterity shall be so farre from out-stripping you, that they imitating you, shall take you for their pattern. To them it shall be sufficient glory (seeing they cannot go beyond you) to doe the same things which you have done: *eadem capient facient q; minores.* And therefore you doe most prudently in your *Protestations* defend your Covenanting *without* and *against* Authority, lest acknowledging a fault herein, you should defraud your posterity of the like remedy; or, to use your owne words, *You should precondemne also the like laudable course in the like necessity to be taken by the Posterity.* And therefore it is your wisdome to stand to the justification of all your proceedings, and to refuse an Act of *Oblivion*, and accept of no lesse then an Act of *Justification.* It is so farre from being a fault which you have done, in taking the Kings Castles, and thrusting out his other subjects out of their houses, with your other actions, that it is rather a *meritorious worke*; and therefore you say well, *We deserve and expect approbation and thanks from his Majesty in his own due time, for keeping his evill Counsellers and bad Patriots from putting hand in his best subjects.* And in your last Petition to his Majesty after your Assembly, to desire your King to approve of your proceedings, you say, that *you are assured of his justification of your actions, and that you are affraid you should bee thought to have offended in nothing so much as in Lenity.*

Protest. in Sept. 1638. Reas. 5.

Protest. 18. Decemb. 1638.

The *Anticovenanters* are no more offended with your writ & printed books, (which they call infamous Libells, and Jesuiticall Pasquils) then they doe please us; not that we delight in your contention, as the *Vultur* in the Apologie beheld the strife of the *Lion* & the *Bore*, to snatch the prey from both parties, but with an assured hope that within short time you shall become our *fratres fraterrimi*, for your writings & actions promise no less; as being most conducible for our ends, & grounded upon our arguments. You shall do us no small pleasure, if you will

will cause to be drawn up such heads of Doctrine, wherin we do now of late agree, that setting those apart, as *not controverted*, wee may conferre with you in that wherein as yet wee *differ*: and in the mean time, as by your diligent perusall of our books, our strong reasons have prevailed with you; so I pray you be instant in reading of them; which I hope shall produce the like effect in that which remaineth. For a preparative to this work, I will thankfully remember (so farre as my weak memory will serve) some points, which by hearing and reading your papers, I find first to be *ours*, and from us wisely received by *you*,

First, your dislike of *Monarchicall government* doth please us very well; for we dislike it so much, that (to speake this under the Rose) we cannot simply grant it to the Pope himselfe, but with such restrictions and limitations, that what we grant him now, we may take it from him the next day to our selves, as I might instance in many particulars, but especially in his *infallibility* and *temporall power*; which we give him with such distinctions and limitations (if you will consider our books) that we intend for *our selves*, that which we give him. But more especially, we agree with you in contemning the *Monarchicall government* of the *civill Magistrate*: for as wee say by that great pillar of our Church, Cardinal *Bellarmine*: *Hæc gubernatio id requirit, ut sit quidam in republica summus aliquis Princeps, qui & omnibus imperet, & nulli subjiciatur*: that is, This government requireth this, that there should be indeed in the republick some Prince that is Supreme, both to command all & be subject to none. For this government hath this great inconvenience, that when the Prince doth wrong his subjects (as you protest your King doth you) there is no remedy but *patience*; for why, all the Judges under him are but his *Deputies*, and all the power & authority they have of the *Sword*, is the *Kings*; & it can never stand with sense or reason, that his Majesties *owne Power* and *Authority*, can be used against *Himselfe*. And hence it is, that Princes being *Legislators*, are above their Lawes, & may dispence with them as they think expedient. To this purpose sayes the Prince of the Schoolmen, *Princeps non obligatur suis legibus, quia nemo sibi imperat, & sibi ipsi legē imponit*; *A Prince is not bound to his own Laws, because no man doth com-*

I.

Bellar. de Rom. Pont. li. 1. ca. 3.

Thom. quæst. 93. a. 5.

mand himself, or impose a Law on himselfe. Though this seeme strange to ignorant men, yet it is most true, and therefore consider it well, for its grounded upon good reason: for the Law is given by a *Superior* to an *Inferior*, and no man can be *inferior* to himselfe, and so can give no Law to himself; and since he can give no Law to himselfe, none of his Lawes can oblige him.

But what shall he be an *Exlex*, a lawlesse man then? I answer with the Schoolmen in two Aphorismes. I. *Princeps non potest servare legem suam ex affectu obedientiæ, quia nullum agnoscit Superiorem in reipublica: sed tantum ex affectu illius virtutis, in cujus materia collocatur id quod lege statutum est:* The Prince cannot keep his owne Law, out of the affection of Obedience, because he acknowledgeth none in the republike to be Superior to him: But only he can keep his Law, out of the affection he hath to that vertue, in the matter wherof, that which is ordained by Law, is placed. II. Aphorisme. *Princeps tenetur quoad vim directivam, non quoad coactivam, ac proinde tametsi peccet contra suam legem, non tamen fit reus pœnæ per legem impositæ quia nemo potest legitimè puniri nisi à Superiori.* The Prince is bound to his Lawes in so far as they have a vertue to direct him, but not as they have any coactive power. And therefore albeit he transgresse his Lawes, yet hee doth not become guilty of the *punishment* of the Law, because no man can be punished lawfully, but by his *Superior*. For this cause, that saying of *Cyrillus* is remarkable: *Nemo leges regum impunè reprobat, nisi reges ipsi; in quibus prævaricationis crimen locum non habet. Prudenter enim dictum est, impium esse, qui dixerit regi, Iniq; agis.* No man can reject the Lawes of Kings without punishment but Kings themselves, in whom the crime of their transgression hath no place: for it is wisely said, that he is an ungodly man who shall say to the King, Thou dost wickedly. As this is the judgement of the Fathers and Moderne Divines, so is it the common judgement of all the Schoolemen, as they say themselves.

Thom. loc. cit. Suarez. lib. 3. cap. 35. Layman. lib. 1. De legib. cap. 9. Decan. cap. 6. de lege humana. quæst. 12. Syl. cit. quæst. 14. Vasquez cit. cap. 3.

Therefore since in Monarchicall government, the supreme Prince hath such absolute power, it were well done to change it into *a mixt* government. If we had suffered the Roman Emperour to remain an *absolute Monarch*, (as you do your King)

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we had never gotten so much of our wils, and his holinesse the Pope would have been hindred from the fruition of his lawfull *supremacie* over Emperors: and if you shall endure this your government, it will bee a great impediment to the *ends* you aime at. For this cause, *regimen temperatum ex Monarchia, Aristocratia, & Democratia mitius est:* its a more milde government that is mixt of Monarchie, Aristocracie, and Democracie. You doe well then to aime at it, for it is our advice. *Bellarmine* in that same place speaketh home to you: *Praesides provinciarum vel civitatum ne sint regis vicarii, aut annui judices, sed veri principes; qui & imperio summi principis obediant, & interim provinciam vel civitatem suam non tanquam alienam, sed ut propriam moderentur.* Let not the Presidents of Provinces, or cities be the Kings deputies, or yeerely Judges, but let them be true Princes; who may both be obedient to the command of their chiefe Prince, and in the meane time govern their province or citie, not as it were another mans, but as their own; by this meanes, both a kinde of Monarchie, Aristocracie, and Democracie may have place in the republicke. *Bellar. de Rom. Pont. lib. 1. c. 3.*

Proceed therefore to the perfecting the good worke which you have begun. Consider the power you have had, as absolute Lords over your Tenants, and as *Princes and chiefe* over your *Clans*, every one of you being *little Kings*, like *Dionysius Corinthi*, commanding and ruling your Vassals, as you pleased; but see now how it is abridged by a new form of justice, by introducing *Justice of peace*, &c. Which (to say the truth) though it tend to the settlement and peace of the Kingdome, yet it mainly opposeth your former domineering, & makes your Vassals look more *to the King and his Lawes, then to you and your commands.* It is certain by our well grounded principles, that there is no reason that your King of Scotland should be a more absolute Monarch then the Emperor of Rome; hee is not like your King an *absolute Prince by succession*, but a *conditionall* Prince by *election*; tyed by such strict conditions, which if he transgresse, he may be thrust from them. For first, the Prince Electors may chuse whom they please to be Emperour, by their Emperiall Lawes. Secondly, the Princes Electors have power to judge and cognosce upon the Emperors faults. Thirdly, if they finde him worthy

worthy of deposition, they may depose him. And by the Emperour Elect his own consent, it is statute and ordained, that if the Princes Electors, or the whole body of the Kingdome shall withstand, or take armes against the Emperour, it shall be accounted lawful without any crime of *rebellion*. *Ex sanctione Henrici 7. & aurea bulla Caroli 4 & capitulatione Cæsarea.* Read this capitulation in *Melchior Goladast. tom. 3. pag. 424* which is thus, *Quòd si nos ipsi, (inquit Imperator) quod absit, aut quisquam successorũ nostrorum quod non speramus, processu temporis alíquo, huic nostræ statutioni, aut ordinationi contravenire voluerit, aut eam retractare, aut alio quovis modo violare præsumserit: præsentium literarũ authoritate, quas mera nostra authoritate, & potestatis regiæ plenitudine, ex certa nostra Majestatis scientia, nec non cum consensu & bene placito præfatorum sacri Romani imperii principum Electorum, in robur perpetuæ firmitatis sancivimus, ex tunc tam ipsi Electores quam cæteri Principes, ecclesiastici & seculares, prælati, comites, barones, nobiles & communitates sacri nostri imperii, universi ac singuli, præsentes & futuri, licitum habeant sine rebellionis aut infidelitatis crimine, resistendi ac contradicendi nobis, & successoribus nostris, Romanorum regibus, vel imperatoribus, in perpetuam libertatem.*

And I will assure you, his Holinesse the Pope was not sleeping when the Emperour was thus clogged: and albeit it may bee thought that this change of simple Monarchy in this mixt government, hath beene a chiefe ground of all the bloudy war of Germany this long time by-gone, which would not have bin if it had remained an absolute Monarchy: for while it so continued an absolute Monarchie in the Primitive Church, their plea was, *Rogamus Cæsar, non pugnamus:* and, *aliter nec debeo, nec possum resistere.* Yet let not this trouble Us: for herein is fulfil'd the prophecy of Christ, while he said, *He came not to send peace, but the sword.* And againe, this change is necessary, for else his Holinesse the Pope should be subject to the Emperor, according to that of *Paul. Let every soul be subject to superior powers*, which he neither is nor ought to be. And therefore *Bernard* is herein deceived himselfe, while he makes this a generall rule without exception, saying, *Qui conatur ab hac regula excipere, conatur decipere:*

Ambros. orat. contra Auxent.

Rom. 13. 1.

Bernard. Epist. 42.

decipere: for both *Pope* with us, and *people* with you muſt bee excepted. The Church of God hath ſufferd too much already in the Primitive times, ſhe hath been to long in the *Category of Paſsion*, crying with tears, *Oramus, non pugnamus*; ſhe ought now to be in the *predicament of action*, with *Pugnamus et oramus*, holding (that I may uſe your own words) *a ſupplication in the one hand, and a ſword in the other*. To this purpoſe Maſter *Andrew Ramſey*, Miniſter of *Edenburgh*, ſaid pretty well, that it was Gods will that the Primitive Church ſhould confirme the truth by *ſuffering*, and that now the truth being confirmed, its his will that we defend the truth by *Action*, in reſiſting tyrants; and what war is better than that which is for Religion? But here an *Antecovenanter* wil reply perchance, & ſay, Where did ever any ſuffer under tyrants for defending of your Presbyteriall government of active or ruling-Elders, and of paſſive or ruled-Elders? which had its firſt beginning from *Calvin* in ſome ſort; but as you have it, it was never in the world till the yeer 1638. For in *Geneva* it is only proper to the *ſupreme Magiſtrate* to chuſe the *Lay-elders*: for they are only Commiſſioners for the *Seigniory*, neither hath the *Miniſter* any voice in their Election, much leſſe the *Multitude:* and all that *Calvin* gave them, is *præeſſe moribus*, and in Church matters they are called *ad conciliũ*, but not *ad conſenſum*. But now in Scotland, not only the whole Church takes the *ſupreme power* to it ſelfe, but alſo every pariſh takes upon it to be an *abſolute independdent ſociety*, quite contrary to the practice of *Geneva*, chuſing their Miniſters and Elders alſo without number, and to thoſe Elders *equal power* is given with the Miniſter, in Presbyteries and Aſſemblies, in giving *deciſive* ſentence in matters of faith and deciding of controverſies, whereof, God knowes, they are moſt ignorant: and in a word they want nothing of the power of the Miniſter, but that they preach not, nor baptiſe in publike congregations: & yet its common to ſee *Lay-men* among them in privat Conventicles to take upon them the calling of a Miniſter in preaching and praying. Or where did any at any time ſuffer for abjuring Epiſcopacie as an antichriſtian government? ſo this being a truth never yet confirmed by *ſuffering*, muſt not now be defended by *reſiſting*, according to *Ramſeys* own rule,

but being an Article of his negative faith, it must first be confirmed by suffering. I would enquire then (sayes the Anticovenanter) of *Ramsey*, if he dare suffer for it, and be the *Protomartyr* in this cause? but he would be like the man that came to the marriage without the wedding garment, *dumb and speechlesse*. Or if he speake, it would be negative like his faith, saying with *Athanasius*, *Quod non à patribus profectum est, sed nuper inventum, quid de eo aliud existimari debeat, quam illud ipsum cujus Paulus mentionem facit*, 1 Timoth. 4. 1.

But finding my self digressing, I wil return to the point which I was about, concerning government. Seeing this mixt government is most conducible for your ends, it were requisite that your Nobles would assume to themselves *Princely Authoritie* (as is thought some of you have done) & make progresse in this good work. For (let me speak it between me and you) till your Kings government be changed, you shall never lawfully resist him. For I have perused all your Divines, & find them all condemning the lawfulnes of resisting such a King as yours is: but at the most they hold it lawfull *in some cases* only to resist *conventionall* or *conditionall Princes*. Hence it was that the Ministers of *Wittenberge* were most opposite to our doctrine of *resisting Princes*, in their publike sermons, but when they beheld upon what expresse *conditions* the Emperour was *elected* to the Empire, to the which hee was not *borne*, then they said, *Docuimus quidem hactenus nullo modo resistendum esse Magistratui, ignoravimus verò ex legum civilium praescripto, id in certis quibusdam casibus etiam legitimè fieri posse*. We have hitherto taught that the Magistrate by no manner of way ought to be resisted: for we did not know that by the prescript of the civill law it might in some certain cases be lawfully done. So *Pareus* (as you know) was the last that wrote upon that subject, whose opinion when it was condemned by your learned Divines; his son *Philippus Pareus*, purposing to defend his fathers opinion, yeelds his sword, and giveth over the combate, even at the entrie, in those words: *Loquitur enim D. parens meus ut & Theologi cateri juxta cum politicis & jurisconsultis iis quorum sententiam ac judicium in hoc argumenta sequutus est parens noster, non de rege absoluta potestate in-*

Epist. Minist. Wittenb.

Append. ad 13. aa Rom.

induto, ſed de principibus ſub conditione admiſſis. That is, my father, and the reſt of the Theologues, Politicians and Juriſconſults, whoſe ſentence & judgement in this argument my father hath followed, doe not ſpeake of a King endued with *abſolute power*, but of Princes who are *conditionally* admitted. And therefore if you would make any lawfull reſiſtance for time to come, its moſt neceſſarie that you labour for a change of government now, and make your ſelves free. We have Scripture for us, *But if thou mayeſt be made free, uſe it rather.* *Claudian* did but deceive himſelf, neither can I endure him while he ſaies 1 *Cor.*7.26.

Fallitur egregio quiſquis ſub principe credit
Servitium: nunquam Libertus gratior extat
Quam ſub rege pio.

Nay, I ſay, *Quam ſub rege meo*, ſuch a King as is *mine*; ſo *mine* that I may un-make him againe, whom I have made *mine*. Try this at your Parliament, ſee if your King will yeeld to this order which I have told you of the Roman Emperour, to *ſubject* himſelf to you his Subjects, that the *Majeſty* may reſide in you; *Audentes fortuna juvat.* Your ſucceſſe may bee gloried of. Your King hath yeelded ſo much unto you, that you may bee confident to have this yeelded alſo. If he had been a mercileſſe Tyrant, he had been ſo farre from granting you all your Petitions, that he might have impoſed moe burthens upon you, who did refuſe obedience to that which is judged by all your prime Doctors to be lawful. Thus thoſe two famous Doctors of yours *Gualter* & *Bullinger* did write in an Epiſtle ſent to the Schiſmaticks in England, who had oppoſed themſelves, as yoe do, to the Service-book of England. *If in caſe* (ſay they) *any of the people be perſwaded that thoſe things ſavour of Poperie, let them be taught the contrary, and perfectly inſtructed therein: and if ſo be, through the importunate crying out hereupon before the people by ſome men, many be diſquieted; let them beware that do ſo, that they bring no greater yoke upon their own necks, and provoke Queen* Elizabeth *her Majeſty, and bring many Miniſters in ſuch danger, as they cannot rid themſelves again.*

I will ſhew you an example hereof, which fell out in Germanie at *Magdeburge*, and within the Territories of *Marqueſſe Albertus*. The Prince required the Miniſters to follow

the wholebooke of Augustan's confession, where is a Liturgie that hath all that is in yours, which you have condemned; but some moe ceremonies, and doth retain the name of the Masse-book. Refusall thereof was made by the Nobility, Gentry, Ministers, and Citizens, even as some of all this rank among you have done. The Court hereon ran upon another deliberation, proposing Articles which doe not alter the doctrine and Liturgie, but thrust upon them moe Ceremonies (*which yet howsoever may well enough be borne*, sayes *Melancton*, whom you call the light of Germany) adding withall a threatning, that they who will not follow this prescription, should depart the Land. Upon this some too forward Ministers, affirmed, *It were good to affright the court with some terrible writing: with the feare of Sedition; and with this Scare-crow to represse and hinder further alteration.* *Illiricus Flaccius* was chiefe man, the *Demetrius* in this uproare, crying out (as your Ministers did) *That rather desolation should be made of the Church*: and, *Princes are to be frighted with terrour of Insurrection.* But for my part (said *Melancton*) *I will be author of no such soure advice.* Whereupon the rest of the Ministers did slander *Melancton* (as *Anticovenanters* say you doe them) as Popishly affected, and was upon the plot to reduce Popery, and wrote to *Calvin* to this effect. But truly I am of *Beza's* opinion that they accused him *without cause*, as afterward *Calvin* knew more truely. For (sayes *Beza*) *at the beginning it was not knowne with what intention that evill Spirit, and whole Troup of the Flaccinians raised so many tumults, and now at this time doth hinder the work of God against Papists.* Thus *Beza*.

Consil. Melan. part 2. pag. 90. 91. 106.

Beza in vita Calvin. anno. 1540.

And it is true indeede, that the *Flaccinians*, who thus did combine against their Prince, did more advance our cause, then *Melancton*, and the remanent of your Doctors; whose judgement was, that the Church should not be troubled by refusing the Service-book; and (as *Melanctons* words are) *to wrangle about a Surplesse, or the like matter; where wise men will exclaime against us, that we withstand and disobey Authority, and nourish contention with a foolish forwardnesse.*

Now seeing it hath pleased your King to deale thus with you, to lay *no heavier burdens* upon you, who have complained

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of a *light one*: but to grant you all that hitherto you have petitioned; see if you can obtaine of him a change of the government. But I pray you, doe it with great prudence and circumspection, laying such grounds, as you may firmely build upon them. For, if at the first you declare your selfe, and say plainely; Sir, wee desire your government changed, hee will resile, and not grant it: and to proceed suddenly from one extremity to another, is difficult. Therefore first of all, by such faire wayes as you can, bee instant to take from him his *negative voyce* in Synods and Parliaments, which is a thing so essentiall to Soveraignty, that it standeth and falleth with it. For hee being destitute of this Pillar, if in Parliaments by plurality of voyces it be carried, that you will not *have this man to raigne over you*, of necessity he must be gone. Secondly, see if you can take from him the *power of making Lawes*, and let the Parliament and Synods be the *Law-makers*. You have taken this *de facto* already in your large protestation, in *Septemb.* 1638. where you say in expresse terms, *that the Parliament and Synod are the Law-makers, and the Law-interpreters*. As you have it *de facto*, see if you can get it *de jure*, established by Law, which if you obtaine, you may thinke you have attained your end: for, if not the King, but Parliament and Synods be the *Legislators*, he must bee subject to such Laws as it shall please them to make, who are the two *Supreme judicatories*, to which in your protestation you appeale, from the King and his Councell: thus subjecting your King to Parliament & Synod, which is a thing that he can hardly suffer. But to please him withall, appoint him to be the *Executioner* of the Laws, and so let him have the name of a King. But it may be that if he have no more but the execution of your Lawes, that he shall rid himselfe of that too, if you grant him no more power; because men will say, He is *not your King, but your Officer, or H! &c.* Thirdly, if so be, that hee shall bee content with what portion of authority *you judge* sufficient, take heede that hee fall not upon you who have thus curbed him, and execute the laws against you: and therefore to make all cock sure, because he cannot doe all by himselfe, but must have Officers under him; let this be granted to you also, to be *Chusers of his Officers*, and

let those be such as you know most expedient for you: and so they shall be rather *your men* then *His*. I heard that all this was motioned by you, but you have not shewne me what successe it hath taken.

II. I have dwelt long upon this necessary point of the change of Government, and therefore I proceede to a second head, whereinto wee fully conspire, and it is a very fit preparative to this intended change. And I cannot but applaud you for rejecting that former errour, to defend that Kings are of *Divine institution*, and doe now hold with us, that they are of *humane institution by positive Lawes*. *In regnis hominum potestas Regis est à populo, quia populus facit Regem.* In the Kingdome of men, the power of the King is from the people, saies *Bellarmine*, and commends Navarre, *Qui non dubitat affirmare, nunquam populum ita potestatem suam in regem transferre, quin illam sibi in habitu retineat, ut in certis quibusdam casibus etiam* * *actu recipere possit.* Who doth not doubt to say, that the people did never so transferre their power to the King, but they did retaine it *habitually* themselves; so that in certaine cases they may *actually* take it from him againe. Let all Protestant Doctors condemne this yet let it never repent you to have received light from us. The best works that ever *Augustine* wrote, were the bookes of *retractations*; and the best workes that you can doe, is to forsake your errors. You say the *people makes the Magistrate, and may be without him, and have been many a yeere without him.* The *Majesty* doth remain in the *people*, and therefore, as it is said in the Gospel, *May I not doe with my owne what I please?* So say we, *Potestas immediatè est tanquam in subjecto in tota multitudine, & si causa legitimè adsit, potest multitudo mutare regnum in Aristocratiam & Democratiam.* The power is *immediately*, as in the *subject*, in the multitude, and if there be a lawfull cause, the multitude may change the Kingdome into an Aristocracie, or Democracie. When the King becommeth an enemy to the Common wealth, hee ought to be removed, *Melius est ut pereat unus, quam unitas.* And therefore you may not without reason say (as in your Sions Plea) to his Majesty, *Wee must not lose you, and the Kingdome,*

Covenanters inform. for Defensive. arg. 3.

Bell. de Concil. lib. 2. cap. 19.

* *Alias Astu.*

Bell. de cleric. lib 3. cap. 6.

Kingdome, by preferring your fancies, and groundlesse affections, before sound reason. You should complaine to the heart that the head is much distempered; The Lyon must be cured of the Kings evill. The Potter may destroy the vessell which hee hath made himselfe. (But I pray you let this be spoken under the Rose; for if we too much divulge it, it will make both you and us most odious to all princes, who will keepe us at such a low ebbe, that we shall never be able to rise against them when we thinke it necessary.) When the shepheard becommeth a Wolfe, let the dogs chase him away: hee is for the people, and the people is not for him; when he turnes to their hurt, let one who is for their good bee put in his place: for you know who said, *Virtuti, non generi debetur regnum.* And it is better to have Kings by *election* then *succession*. And therefore you doe most learnedly reason from the *unreasonablenes and absurdities of those Court Parasites* (in your learned informations for Defensive armes against the King) *who attribute such illimited power to their Kings, that they loose all the bonds of civill society against all the bonds of oathes and lawes; suffering the Prince to doe what hee pleaseth, to the ruine of Religion, the Church and Kingdome; and the people shall do nothing but suffer themselves to be massacred, or else flie, which is impossible.* In parallel to this we say thus: *The danger is so evident, & inevitable, that God hath not sufficiently provided for our salvation and the preservation of the Church and holy Lawes, if there were no way to restraine such wicked Princes, &c.* this were (as you say) *to expone all to the fury of the Prince* And therfore we conclude in the same place with those words, *The bond and obligation wee have entered into for the service of Christ and his Church, far exceeds all other duties which we owe to any humane creature: & therefore where the obedience to the inferiour hindereth the service of the other which is superiour, we must by law and order discharge our selves of the inferiour.* This our conclusion is most consonant to the words and sense of your second and fourth argument for war.

Covenanters inform. for Defensive. arg. 1.

Defence of English Catho. cap. 5.

Loco citato.

Ibid.

Covenanters inform. for Defensive.

And since you were put to this necessity to take up armes for your defence, notwithstanding of your Kings *specious prentences*, who could condemne you to presse and urge the people

Covenanters inform. for Defensive. § 7.

people, by your reasons to take up armes, to resist the violence of your King, who was *furiously invading you*, as you say? and to thrust all away from their places that did withstand you, as traitors to you, the Church and Countrey, and unworthy of your *society*. I do not regard, neither need you to be offended at that idle speech of *Sigebert*; neither would I heare him, if he did not aske leave of all good men (from which number I will not be excluded) to speake, while he sayes thus, *To speake with the leave of all good men, this onely novelty, I will not say heresie, was not crept into the world (before the dayes of* Hellde-brand*) that Priests should teach the people that they owe no subjection to evill Kings, and that although they have sworne fidelity to him, yet they must yeeld him none; neither may they be counted perjured for holding against their King, but rather he that obeyeth the King is excommunicate; and he that rebelleth against the King, is absolved from the blemish of disloyalty and perjurie, &c.* Thus he. And is this a matter to be condemned, I pray you? Doe wee not cleerely see this performed among your selves? the King himselfe will approve of it: for you are confident of it, while you say: *We are very confident of his Majesties approbation to the integrity of our hearts, and peaceablenesse of our wayes and actions all this time past; and do protest that we still will adhere to our former proceedings, mutuall defence, &c.* And good reason, for rebellion for such an important businesse against a King, cannot be disloyaltie; and they that have not followed your course, justly deserve *Excommunication* and *Banishment*. *Athanasius* was but too silly a man, being under the tyrannie of *Constantius* the *Arrian Heretick*, that did not incite the people to *rebellion*, or to promove the designes of the Emperours brother, who was Orthodoxe, and worthier of the Crown. Which if he had done, he might have made a better Apologie to the Emperour *Constantius*, who charged him with the same, as if he had stirred up his brother, and the people against him. If he had done so, he might have made *Peters* Apologie, *Its better to obey God then man*. But because he did it not, he makes an Apology most beseeming a coward, who did not (as you did) *with councell and courage lead the people to war against their*

Sigebert in anno 1088.

Protest. mense Sept. 1638.

Prince;

Prince; but sayes thus, *Vincat quaeso, apud te, veritas: & ne relinquas suspicionem contra universam ecclesiã, quasi talia aut cogitentur aut scribantur à Christianis, & potissimum Episcopis.* Let truth I pray thee prevaile with thee, and leave not a suspicion against the Catholick Church, as if such things were either thought or written by Christians, and especially by Bishops. *I am not so mad, I am not beside my selfe, O Emperour, that thou should suspect I had any such thought; I am not so mad, neither have I forgotten the voyce of God, which saith, Curse not the King in thy heart, nor backbite the mighty in the secrets of thy chamber: for the birds of the ayre shall tell it, and the fowles that flye shall betray it.* *Athanasius Apolog. ad Constant.*

This man was too fearefull: but you were of another spirit, encouraging the people, & dehorting them from *being afraid of shadowes*; yea, your Priests were good patterns to the rest to follow. There was one of them, who is worthy (if you could permit Images) to have his Statue ingraven in Marble, to eternize him to the worlds end, who went so stoutly to the Camp upon his horse, with two Carabins at his Sadle, two Pistols at his side, with a broad Scottish sword; those five weapons were like unto *Davids* five smooth stones which hee tooke out of the brooke to kill *Goliah* with. This *David* no doubt would have killed five English at the first encounter with his five deadly weapons, and would have returned with triumph, saying with *Paul*, *I have fought a good fight*: for, *should such a man as he flye?* But if any shall produce the Canons of divers generall Councels, ordaining Clergy men that beare arms to be degraded and put from their place: And that of *Davenant*, *Christus gladium* verbi *promittit, non* ferri: fugam *suadet*, *non* pugnam. Christ promiseth to his Pastors the sword of the word; and not the sword of Iron: he perswades to flie, but not to fight: the answer is easie. Those generall Councels though not *in toto*, yet *pro tanto*, are like your 6. generall or nationall Councels, which you have condemned, because they were against you: and *Davenant* is a Bishop, and so your adversary. Covenanters inform. for Defensive. §. 4. *David D.* 2 Tim. 4. 7. Nehem. 6. 11. *Davenant deter. quæst.* 4.

III. A third errour wherewith wee were formerly tossed by you, is now removed, it concerneth the Church-govern-

ment, which you at last, being put to it, doe acknowledge to belong to the Church, not to the King. What hath he to doe there?

Let Kings take care of civill state,
Let Church of Church matters debate.

This was the presumption and errour of *Henry* the 8. King of England, as *Bellarmine* observeth. *Is enim se caput ecclesiæ Anglicanæ constituit, & eodem modo censuit alios principes capita suprema in suis ditionibus esse.* For he made himselfe Head of the Church, and after the same manner judged other Princes to be supreme heads within their owne Dominions. And thus King *Charles* would also be: therefore in your *Protestations*, you declare that it is your ancient grievance, *That his Majesty takes upon him that spirituall power and authoritie, which properly belongeth to Christ, as onely King and Head of his Kirk; The ministery and execution whereof is onely given to such as beare Ecclesiasticall government of the same. So that in his Majesties person some men presse to erect a Popedome.* And all your Protestant Divines do hold the same doctrine, as so many *Court Parasites*. The Fathers went too far on this way, I will but name *Augustine*: *All men* (sayes he) *ought to serve God by cõmon cõdition, as men: in another sort by several gifts & offices, by the which, some do this, some do that. No private person could command Idols to be banished cleane frõ amongst men, which was so long before propheſied. Therfore Kings* (*beside their duty to serve God common with all men*) *have, in that they be Kings, how to serve the Lord in such sort, as none can do, which are not Kings; for in this, Kings, as they are Kings, serve the Lord* (*as God by* David *enjoyned them*, Psal. 2.) *if in their Kingdomes they command that which is good, and prohibite that which is evill, not in civill affaires onely, but also in matters concerning Divine Religion, &c.* This man is so confident, that in his 50 *Epistle* he crieth out, *Who being in their right wits dare alledge the contrary?* But truly the *Donatists* held the better part, they durst alledge the contrary; so dare *Wee*, so dare *you doe*: *Macti viri virtute novâ.* The Fathers judgement in such state matters is not approved by his Holinesse the Pope. *Bellarmine* our trustie Cham-

Bell. de Rom. Pontif. l. 1. c. 7.

Protestat. 18. Decemb. 1638.

August. contra literas Petiliæ lib. 2. cap. 92.

Idem contra Cresc. lib. 8. cap. 51.

Champion ſpeaketh better for you: That the civill Magiſtrate *regit homines, ut homines ſunt, & magis ratione corporum quam animarum:* but on the contrary, the Church Governour *regit homines, ut Chriſtiani ſunt, & magis ratione animarum quam corporum: ille habet pro fine temporalem quietem, & ſalutem populi; iſte vitam & ſempiternam felicitatem: ille utitur naturalibus legibus, & inſtitutis humanis; iſte legibus divinis.* The King governeth men as they are men, and rather in regard of their bodies then their ſoules: but the Church Governour governeth men as they are Chriſtians, and rather in regard of their ſoules then their bodies. The end of the one is to procure the temporall quiet and ſafetie of the people; the other hath for his end, everlaſting life and happineſſe: the one uſeth naturall Lawes and humane inſtitutions, but the other uſeth Divine Lawes.

And whereas your Doctors ſay, that the King is the Keeper of the Tables, and the Miniſter of God for our good, and if for our good, then chiefly for our *principall good*, the good of our ſoules; to have a care of Religion according to the examples of the religious Kings under the Law, and Chriſtian Princes under the Goſpel, &c. Thoſe, and many ſuch like idle arguments are not worthy that I ſhould ſtand to anſwer them, eſpecially in an Epiſtle; for there is no ſuch need of Kings, *the people may well enough bee without them, for there was none till Cains dayes*, as you ſay: The Church was well governed in the Primitive time while there was no Chriſtian King. *Ad annos fermè 300. nullus fuit in Eccleſia Chriſtianus Princeps ſecularis.* For the ſpace of 300 yeers there was no ſecular Chriſtian Prince in the Church, ſayes *Bellarmine*. And therefore, ſayes he, *Chriſtus Eccleſiam regendam Petro & Epiſcopis commiſit, non Tyberio & ejus præfectis*: Hee committed the government of his Church, to *Peter* and the Biſhops, not to *Tyberius* the Emperor and his Officers. He ſaid to *Peter, feed my ſheep*; not ſo to Kings, but, *Doe my Prophets no wrong*. The Church-men muſt give an account to God of mens ſouls, Kings have no ſuch account to make, as our *Stapleton* ſayes well with you: & therfore concludes, that not Kings, but the Church is to be obeyed in Eccleſiaſticall buſineſſes; according to that of the Apoſtle, *Obe-*

Covenanters informat. for Defenſive. arg. 3.

Bell. de laicis. cap. 17.

Heb. 13. 17. *dite præpoſitis veſtris. Obey them that have the rule over you, and ſubmit your ſelves unto them for they watch for you ſoule.* You doe then as it becommeth you, not to regard the Kings words, nor obey his Proclamations; but to perſwade the people (that I may uſe your own words) *to ſubmit themſelves obediently to follow their Leaders, Whom God at this time hath largely furniſhed with counſell and courage for the good of his Church and Kingdome*: The reaſon why they ſhould follow them, and not be carried away with the Kings Proclamations:

Covenanters inform. for Defenſive.

Bell. de Pont. Rom. lib. 5. cap. 6. *quia poteſtas civilis ſubjecta eſt poteſtati ſpirituali quando utraq; pars eſt ejuſdem reipub. Chriſtianæ.*

IIII A fourth error which you with good ſucceſſe have aboliſhed, that you deny the power of convocating and diſmiſſing of Aſſemblies to belong to the *Supreme Magiſtrate*. In the Proteſtation in *July* 1638, you maintaine your *power of convocating Aſſemblies*: therefore in the 27. *Auguſt*, 1638. it was well put

VIII. Inſtruct. in among your Inſtructions before the Aſſemblies, *that the ableſt man in each Pariſh ſhould be provided to diſpute De poteſtate ſupremi Magiſtratûs in Eccleſiaſticis, præſertim in convocandis Concilijs.* Its your wiſedome to aſſemble when he commands you, ſo long as it is conducible for your ends, but yet you have power to aſſemble in a *Nationall Aſſemblie*, in what place of the Kingdome you pleaſe. *Socrates* did ſmell too much of a *Court Paraſite*, while he ſaid, We make mention of Emperors throughout this Hiſtory, for that ſince they became Chriſtians, Eccleſiaſtical matters depend on them, & the greateſt Synods have bin, and yet are called by their appointment.

Socrat. in præmio, lib. 5. He offended you who ſaid, that as *Moſes* is *cuſtos utriuſq; Tabulæ*, ſo is he *cuſtos utriuſq; Tubæ*: as the civill Magiſtrate is keeper of both the *Tables*; ſo hee is keeper of both the *ſilver Trumpets*, for *warr*, for calling of *Aſſemblies*, and diſmiſſing of them; and that you would but blow the Trumpet of *Sedition*, if (without the Kings authority) you ſhould convocate Aſſemblies either for *peace* or for *warre*.

The *Marqueſſe* of *Hamilton* was too preſumptious, being called with the Kings authority, to diſcharge your laſt Aſſembly, which (as you ſaid well) was to *raiſe Chriſt's Court*: and therefore, it was not ill adviſed by one of you, *that ſeeing the*

Marqueſſe

Marqueſſe was faithfull to his Maſter the King, ſo you ought to be faithfull to your Maſter the King of kings Jeſus Chriſt, and to defend his Royall prerogative above all the kings of the earth. In your anſwer to the *Marqueſſe* of *Hamiltons* Declaration, you affirme that *your Eccleſiaſticall juriſdiction is independent*, and in your *Zions Plea*, you ſay, that your Presbyterian diſcipline *is the Scepter of Chriſt, ſwaying his own houſe according to his hearts deſire, the ſoul the chief Commander in the camp Royall*; and your *Travers* ſaies, *Huic diſciplinæ omnes orbis Principes & Monarchas faſces ſuos ſubmittere, & parere neceſſe eſt*: There is a neceſſitie that all the Princes and Monarchs ſhould ſubmit their Scepters, and obey this diſcipline. And your *Mac Lellan* (whom ſome call a foole) ſpake not fooliſhly, while hee preached, *that the King had no more to do to meddle with your Aſſemblies, then you have to meddle with his Parliaments.* It was wiſely then done by you, in rejecting any *proteſtation* or *appellation* from your Aſſembly by the *Biſhops*, and their adherents, to the Kings Majeſtie; for ſuch appellations ought not to be, ſeeing there is none *Supreme* above your Nationall Aſſemblies. And therefore, as you have not hitherto regarded their proteſtation and appellation, but have proceeded againſt them to *depoſition* and *excommunication*: ſo continue, and be not diſmaid though they ſhould renue their proteſtations and appellations, even in the words of *Athanaſius*, in proteſting againſt, and appealing from the partiall Councell of *Tyrus*; which appellation and proteſtation of *Athanaſius*, and the reſt of the Orthodox Biſhops was in theſe words: *Becauſe we ſee many things ſpitefully contrived againſt us, and much wrong offered the Catholike Church under our names, we be forced to requeſt that the debating of our matters may boe kept for the Princes moſt excellent perſon. We cannot beare the drifts and injuries of our enemies; and therefore, require the cauſe to be referred to the moſt religious and devout Emperour, before whom we ſhall be ſuffered to ſtand in our own defence, and plead the right of the Church, &c.* If thoſe your Biſhops flying to the King, as *Athanaſius* and the reſt of the Orthodox Biſhops did to the Emperour, ſhall procure an edict or command from the King, (as thoſe did from the Emperor) to

De diſcip. Eccl. pag. 142.

Athanaſ. apolog. cap. 2.

charge you all to appeare before him to plead your cause, you ought not to appear as that miserable Synod of *Tyrus* did: The Edict was so peremptory, that they durst not resist. The Edict was in these words: *Your Synod hath decreed I know not what in a tumult and uproare, while you seeke to pervert truth by your pestilent disorder for hatred against your fellow Bishops. But the divine providence will (I doubt not) scatter the mischiefe of your contention, and make it plaine in our sight, whether your Assembly had any regard of truth, or not. You must therefore all of you resort hither, to shew the reason of your doings, for so doth it seeme good and expedient to mee; to which end, I willed this rescript to be sent you, that as many of you as were present at the Councell of* Tyrus, *without delay repaire to the place of our abode, there to give an account how sincerely & soundly you have judged, & that before me, whom your selves shal not deny to be the sincere Minister of God in* such causes, &c.

I say then, if you shall receive such a charge from your King, you should not obey: (for in your sense, that is *To betray the Royall prerogative of your King Jesus Christ*) but returne the answer of *Core*, *Dathan* and *Abiram* with ingemination, *We will not come, we will not come*: or your Lords, Lay-Elders may returne that of *Jeremy*, *Wee are Lords, Wee will no more come unto thee*. And if your King will not be content with your answer, prosecute your begun course with all diligence and earnestnesse; having begun in the *spirit*, end not in the *flesh*, but go on with that which they call disorders, till *you get the King in your power, and then he shall know what subjects you will be.* If the people of one citie falling in *sedition* for matters of *Religion*, so prevailed & passed all power of resisting, that *Anastasius* the Emperour was fain to come to an open place without his *Crown*, & by Heraulds to signifie to the people, that he was readie with a very good will to resigne the Empire into their hands: how much more may you who have many cities, by continuing your courses, force your King to resigne his Crown of Scotland? And howbeit the people of that citie seeing the Emperor in so pitiful a case, were moved with the spectacle & changed their minds, & besought the Emperour to keep his Crown, and promised for their parts to be quiet, yet do not you so, till your King shall performe all your demands From

Num. 16. 12. 14.
Jer. 2. 31.
Evag. lib. 3. cap. 41.

From that which hath been done by you, and repeated by me, I see other two errours banished which I conjoyn for brevities sake, lest my Epistle should encrease to a Treatise, *viz.* That the King is no more to be *President*, nor *supreme Governour* in causes Ecclesiasticall. It is the folly of your Divines, to make the Moderator of your Assemblies, to be unto the *King* or his *Delegate* in Assemblies, as the *Chancellor* in the Parliament is to the *King*, or his *Deputy* in Parliaments. But I extoll your courage, who now conclude with us, *Ad Regium officium pertinet, ut legibus & edictis suis, eam fidem teneri, quam sacerdotes tenendam docent, &c.* Its the duty of Kings, by their Lawes & Edicts to cause that faith to be kept, which the Priests teach should bee kept. For *the spirit of the Prophets is subject to the Prophets.* But is *Saul* also among the Prophets? Is it true that the *Anticovenanter* sayes, that in your Ecclesiasticall judicatories, called 1 Sessions, 2 Presbyteries, and 3 Synods, there will be in the first, sometimes twelve, sometimes sixteene, in some places, 24. *Lay-Elders*, for one *Priest*? Secondly, in your Presbyteries, Lay-elders of *equal power and number*? Thirdly, in your Synods as many *Lay-elders* with their Assessors as there is Priests; all which Lay-elders have as great power in matters of Doctrine and Discipline as the Priests themselves, to *judge*, and passe *Definitive sentence*? &c. But I trust it is not so, for I heare that they are offended to be called *Lay-elders*, and will bee called *Ruling-elders*, and Ecclesiasticall persons, and so I doubt not but they have received *orders* from you. And therefore seeing Ecclesiasticall persons among you, have the managing of Church-affaires, the civil Magistrate must be content to execute what you decree; neither ought he to judge otherwise then you judge; neither can hee hinder you to make Lawes in the Church. For, as *Stapleton* sayes very learnedly with you, *Oves non possunt judicare pastores.* Let the sheep-heards judge of the sheep, who must follow them; as Christs sheep heard his voyce and followed him. Therefore you have most valiantly shaken off that yoke of the Kings *supremacie* in causes Ecclesiasticall, and at the Crosse of *Glasgow* proclaimed to the world (against the Kings Proclamation for raising the Assembly) that *your Assemblies are the supreme judicatory*

5.6.

Bellarmine.

Novemb. 29. 1638.

Protest. in Julii 1638. §. 5. You appeale from the King and the Councell to the generall Assembly and Parliament.

judicatorie in all causes ecclesiasticall; and since supreme, its *independent* from the King, and your reason is good: for that which is superiour cannot be subject to that which is inferiour. Now (as *Bellarmine* also sayes) *Regimen Ecclesiasticum sublimius est Politico.* The Ecclesiasticke government is higher then the Politicke: for *Principatus politicus institutus est ab hominibus, & de jure gentium: at principatus ecclesiasticus est à solo Deo, & de jure divino.* The Politicke Government is institute by men, and of the Law of Nations: but the Church Government is from God alone, and of Divine institution. „ Therefore you conclude right, that the King hath no more „ power to appoint officers in the Church, then you have power „ to appoint officers of state for his Court.

Bell. de clericis, cap. 28.

In *Zions Plea*, pag. 289. you answer well to the Protestants objection, thus: If any object the Magistrates interposed authority, it's quickly answered, *That his power is not to weaken any ordinance of God, but for guarding and making good all Gods ordinances with the Sword.* And in your protestation at *Edenburgh*, 18. *December*, 1638. you bring from your Booke of Discipline a full and perfect description of the Kings authority in Church matters, which is this, *To assist and maintaine the discipline of the Kirk, and punish them civilly who will not obey the censures thereof.* And in your answer to the *Marquesse* of *Hamilton* his Declaration, you say, *That the Supreme Magistrate, as a Son of the Kirke, ought to receive the true meaning of the Kirke, and cause it to be received by those whom God hath subjected unto him.* Yea, it is so farre from being a prerogative due to the Supreme Magistrate to be Supreme Governour in causes Ecclesiasticall, that it is a favour granted unto him to have any precedencie in Synods without voycing, (except he would become a ruling Elder, and have a commission to come.) Therefore it is most remarkable which you say in your Protestation 29. *Novem.* 1638. at *Glasgow*. "After 39. *Nationall Assemblies* of this „ Nationall Church, where neither the Kings Majesty, nor a- „ ny in his name was present: At the humble and earnest de- „ sire of the Assembly, His Majesty graciously vouchsafed His „ presence either in His owne Royall person, or by a Commis-

sioner

"sioner, not for voiting or multiplying of voyces; but as Prin-
"ces and Emperours of old, in a Princely manner to coun te-
"nance that meeting, & to preside into it for externall order,
&c. And this is all that wee grant to Emperors and Princes in our Disputes against Protestants. And I pray you what Royalist can answer the arguments which you have borrowed from us? all their answer is, that they exclaime that you do borrow your Arguments from your enemies, yet not so great enemies as they suppose; for the Jesuite is called the Popish Puritan, & the Puritan is called the Protestant Jesuite; and I trust that the like may be said of us, which is said of Christ and *Franciscus*

Exue Franciscum tunica, lacerog; cucullo *Turselin.*
Qui Franciscus erat, jam tibi Christus erit,
Franciſci exuviis, si qua licet, indue Christum,
Jam Franciscus erit, qui tibi Christus erat.

And we are both by Papists and Protestants (though unjustly) branded with these vile Epithets, to be called *Holy Divels, the Standard-bearers of perfidiousness, the Architypes of Rebellion, the Bellows of Sedition, the Emissaries of the Divel, the Kings evill, and the Incendiaries of the whole world,* &c. and our *Thuan* is so far out of love with us, that he sayes our Society is *Ludov. de Cruzam.*

Nata Magistratum convellere, nata ministris
Subtrahere obsequium, Præsulibusq; suum.

But albeit there were some ods between us, what is that to them, since they bee good for you? who found fault with him who said, *Mutemus clypeos, Danaumq; insignia nobis*
Aptemus. Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat?

Who can blame you while you say, that if Princes shall have such power in Assemblies, and in matters of Religon, then all *Religion and Church-government should depend absolutely upon the pleasure of the Prince*; and he may change it as he will? So sayes learned *Stapleton* in his dispute against the Protestant Doctrine: *Posita hac potestate, nec in una provincia vel regno diu erit fidei unitas vel cultus, & religionis conformitas, quia singuli principes quod ipsis melius videbitur, statuent; quorũ decretis si resistatur, perpetua erunt bella.* This power being granted to Kings, then Unity of faith and wor- Protest. 18. Novemb. 1638.

 ship,

ſhip, and conformity of religion will not remaine long in one province or kingdome, becauſe every Prince will ordaine that which ſeemeth beſt in his eyes. To whoſe decrees if reſiſtance be made, there will follow perpetuall warre. But this power being granted to the Church, which cannot erre in her Synodicall acts, there ſhall ever be Unity of faith depending upon the *infallibility* of Church Aſſemblies.

VII. For I ſee in the ſeventh place, that you do acknowledge the *infallibility* of generall Councels or Aſſemblies. For that Aſſembly which you did hold at *Glaſgow* lately, is to you ſo *infallible*, that long time before, you doe profeſſe that you did *ſwear for judgement and practice to adhere to the determination it*: And now of late, *Julii* 1. 1639. do *proteſt before God and the world, that you will ſtill adhere to it.* And you have good reaſon ſo to do: for if generall Aſſemblies may erre, then, ſay we, *Poſſent meritò revocari in dubium omnes damnatæ hæreſes, & Concilia nullo honore digna eſſent.* All hereſies which are condemned, may againe be called in queſtion, and our Aſſemblies eſteemed worthy of no honour. And therefore you may juſtly feare, upon this ground, that your Aſſembly might erre, and that you may be branded with errour in your decrees, and have all called in queſtion again which you have condemned. As for us of Rome, condemne your Aſſemblies who will, we ſhall never doe it: but rather deſire that you may ſtill appoint the *ſame Commiſſioners* for your future aſſemblies, therein to confirme all which they had decreed in the former: for your acts of abjuring *Epiſcopacy*, the *Articles of Perth*, *Service-book*, *Book of Canons*, pleaſeth us very well: howbeit we doe not throughly approve the reaſon of your acts. You have thruſt away and excommunicated your Biſhops, becauſe you thinke them *Antichriſtian*: ſo doe we excommunicate your Biſhops, becauſe they are *Antichriſtian*. But you thinke them *Antichriſtian*, becauſe you make it an Article of your *Negative faith*, that they are a part of the *Popiſh Hierarchie*: And we thinke them *Antichriſtian*, becauſe they are not ſo, neither doe they acknowledge the Pope for their Head, but doe declaime againſt him; and the greateſt wound that ever wee have received, is from ſuch Biſhops as they are, as *Cranmer*, *Latimer*,

Novemb. 21. 1638. Covenanters informat. for Defenſive. §. 7.

Beil. de auctor. concilior. cap. 4.

mer, Ridley, Hooper, Jewell, Bilson, Andrewes πεντεγλώττος, stupar mundi; *Whitgift, Babington, Abbots, King, Downame, Ussher, Morton, Davenant, Montague, Hall, White*, and that Arch-enemy of yours and ours, *Canterbury*, with divers others, whom I like not to recite.

In this particular, King *James* is opposite to us both, because (as *Becanus* well observeth) hee holdeth, that Bishops have their jurisdiction immediately from God, while he saith, *Episcopos esse in Ecclesia debere, tanquam institutionem Apostolicam, ac ordinationem proinde divinam contra Puritanos, contraq; Bellarminum semper sensi, qui negat Episcopos à Deo immediatè suam jurisdictionem accepisse. Sed nihil mirum à Puritanis eum stare, cum Jesuitæ nihil aliud quam Puritano-papistæ sunt.* I ever thought that Bishops ought to be in the Church, as an Apostolicall institution, and therefore a divine ordinance, against *Puritans*, and against *Bellarmine*; who deny that Bishops have their jurisdiction immediately from God; but no marvel that *Bellarmine* takes the *Puritans* part, seeing *Jesuits* are no other thing but *Puritan-papists*: And in that same place the King sheweth that from a generall Councell convocated by Christian Princes, for the settling of Religion, he would have *Jesuites* and *Puritans* excluded, whom he calleth by a common title *novitios, & furiosos incendiarios*: and sayes, *Mihi præcipuus labor fuit dejectos Episcopos restituere, & Puritanorum anarchiam expugnare.* My chiefe labour was to restore the Bishops that were cast downe, and to overthrow the anarchie of Puritans.

Becan. de prim. Reg. Angl. ca. 7. Jacobi Regis præfat. monit.

Ibidem.

We thanke you also for removing the Articles of *Perth*; for they were not rightly established: for your Church did esteeme those ceremonies to be onely *things indifferent*, commended and commanded by Authority, for *Decency* and *Order*. The not observation whereof was held no *damnable sinne*, if it were without *contempt* of Authority, and without the *case of scandall*; and at the most, your Church did hold that those ceremonies were onely *significant*, and not *operative*, as we hold. But if they had been rightly established, you should have observed them as things *necessary to salvation*, and as parts of *Gods worship*, which under paine of *damna-*

tion ought to be performed, and that they are signs *operative*, working *grace* in those who observe them. And therefore seeing your Church did not hold this opinion of them, they are not *Popish Ceremonies*, and so not *ours*; and whatsoever you have more that is not *ours*, we request you to abjure it.

The condemning also of the *Service-book* is most acceptable unto us, because it is not our *Masse-book*; and that you may see how much we hate it, Be it known to you, that by vertue of the Popes Bull many yeers agoe, we will suffer no Roman Catholike to goe to the Church, so long as the *Service-booke* is reading, either in *England* or *Ireland*, and yet we will permit them to goe to their Sermons, and of all Sermons we Sympathize best with yours: So that it seemeth a most unfortunate booke, having both us and you for its enemies.

And since I am fallen upon this point, let me relate an History that passed between a *Covenanter* & an *Anticovenanter*, as it was reported to me, concerning this booke, that you may make your use of it. "The *Covenanter* demanded the cause "why he could refuse to joyne with them in a Supplication to "his Majesty against the book of *Common Prayer*, seeing there "were so many hands of able Ministers subscribing the same, "and obliging themselves to make it good, that it was 1. *Su-*"*perstitious*. 2. *that it conteineth the maine essentiall parts of* "*the Masse*. 3. *that it openeth a doore to let in all Popery*? The "*Anticovenanter* answered thus, or to this effect: Because such "unjust aspersions are cast upon that poore Booke, which doth "not containe so many *Lines*, as it doth suffer *Lyes*, hated be "all that love not truth; *Papists* and *Puritans* striving who "shall speake most against it, I shall be so farre from becom-"ming a causles enemy to it, that I cannot deny it my friend-"ship and helping hand. But because you are so furious, and I "for speaking but one word in its favour have beene hotly per-"secuted with tongues, and hands too; it will be better to be "possessed with a *Lethargie*, then to appeare in defence of "this *Lyturgie*, which the most part, even of the Mini-"stry, hath condemned with blind obedience, before they "did *see* or *read* it. It might be sufficient for me to deny what "you peremptorily affirme against it, and its your part to

"prove

"prove the *Affirmative*: and your beſt *Probation* is your "naked *aſſertion*, ſeconded with *railing* againſt all that wil not "beleeve you. But I pray you heare the Book ſpeak for it ſelfe, "and it ſhall purge it ſelfe of ſuch calumnies, in the judgement "of all indifferent men, and it will tell you that you are like *Davids* enemies, caſting iniquity upon it where you find none, and laying to its charge the thing it never knew, and ſo doe hate it without a cauſe.

First then, here it purgeth it ſelfe of all Superſtition, at the I.
"firſt entrie of the booke, where it ſheweth the *reaſons why* "*ſome ceremonies are aboliſhed, and ſome retained*, in plaine "words, ſaying: *The multitude of ceremonies are rejected, be-* "*cauſe of their multitude and ſuperſtition.* And in the cele- "bration of the Holy Communion, it recommends the uſe "of common bread. But wherefore? *for the avoyding of Su-* "*perſtition*, ſayes the booke; ſo that at the very entry, the "booke is moſt carefull to ſatisfie all ſcrupulous people, thus "telling them that it hates ſuperſtition as well as they. Again, "if there were any thing ſuperſtitious in this booke, it muſt "be enjoyned as a thing *neceſſary in it ſelfe*, as *unchangeable*; "the not obſerving of it would be *damnable*, as the breach of "*Gods Law*. To all this the Book anſwers in the ſame place, "that it *enjoyneth nothing in that manner, but what the Word* "*of God commands*. And as for the ceremonies contained "in it, it is ſo farre from eſteeming them *things neceſſarie*, "that it placeth them in the ranke of *indifferent things*. The "*keeping or omitting whereof is but a ſmall thing*, ſayes the "booke: It ſayes further, that *thoſe ceremonies are taken away* "*which were moſt abuſed, and did burthen mens conſciences* "*without cauſe, and that thoſe which remain are retained for* "*diſcipline and order*. It tells that they are alſo *changeable*, "and not to bee compared to *Gods Law*, whileſt it ſayes of "them thus, *Upon juſt cauſes they may be altered and changed,* "*and therefore are not to bee eſteemed equall with Gods Law.* "What can any man ſay more againſt ſuperſtition then is ſaid "by the book it ſelf? Therefore, its very likely that they have "not read the book, (as I am ſure the moſt part have never "done) or at leaſt have read it with an *evill eye*; who con-

" demne it of *Superstition*, whereof it is most free.

II. " As for the second, that it doth containe the *essentiall parts*
" *of the Masse*, read and see the contrary in the booke it selfe,
" which doth keepe Christs *institution it selfe*, and *Pauls re-*
" *petition of it*, in such sort, that I thinke no Church can cele-
" brate the Sacrament with more *purity*, *sincerity*, *gravity*,
" and none with more *Majestie* then by this book. But let me
" speak a little for it. I pray you, why are you so sparing? you may
" say as well, that it containes the *whole Masse*, as the *maine*
" *essentiall parts of the Masse*; for (if you have any Logicke,
" or naturall reason) you may so conclude; for where that is
" which is essentiall to a thing, there the thing it selfe must be:
" But in this booke (say you) *are the essentiall parts of the*
" *Masse*, what doth hinder then, but that it hath the Masse it
" selfe in it? for, if it have the maine essentiall parts of the
" Masse, what doth it lacke or want? not the *proper accidents*,
" for these do flow from *the essentiall parts*, & are *inseparable*
" from it. It can want nothing then of the Masse, unlesse it bee
" *some cõmon accidents*, which may be either *present* or *absent*,
" without any hurt of the *subject*. What boldnesse is this then
" to speak such a main essentiall lie? Let me either see that the
" book maintaineth, that *sub speciebus panis & vini*, the body
" and bloud of Jesus Christ is *bodily offered up* by the Priest, to
" God the Father, a *propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the*
" *dead*, or else lay your hand on your mouth, & speak no more.

III. " Finally, since it hath neither *Superstition*, nor the *essenti-*
" *als of the Masse*, how can it *open a doore to Popery*? certain-
" ly, it is purged from all such stuffe, & restored to the ancient
" integrity, the least thing that might tend to *superstition*, be-
" ing thrust out of doore, as *Ammon* did *Tamar*, *without hope*
" *of return*; and if any superstition would dare to enter, as the
" Sodomits at *Lots* door, *the door is so fast shut* (by that which
" I have told you from the mouth of the book it self, in the be-
" ginning of the right use and abuse of Ceremonies) that they
" must despaire of any entry.

" What needes all such uproare then without cause? such
" fearefull Schismes, such Dictatorial censures, and uncharita-
" ble verdicts, that they are all Papists, or Popishly affected,

" that

"that run not with you to miſchiefe? Shew me but one *maſcu-*
"*line reaſon* (and lay aſide wives tales) and I ſhall take it in
"place of many: *& erunt ultimi primi*: I ſhall redeeme my
"time with redoubling my courſe, and ſhall be ſo far from ap-
"proving the leaſt point which you ſhall ſhew to be Popery,
"that for that one points ſake, it ſhall get no more pity then
"*Samuel* gave to *Agag: I ſhall rent it in pieces.*

"Read over that which you have condemned with judge-
"ment, and not with prejudice, and I ſhall oblige my ſelfe to
"make good thoſe particulars: Firſt, that you ſhall never be a-
"ble to find any thing in it *contrary to the word of God*. 2. That
"it containeth nothing contrary to the practice of the Primi-
"tive Church, but which is moſt agreeable thereto. 3. That
"all the points which you condemne, are *not controverted* be-
"tweene our *claſsicall Divines* and *Papiſts*, but agreed upon
"on *both ſides*, as things not *controverted*. 4. That there is no-
"thing in it contrary to our Confeſſion of Faith in Scotland.
"Yea, which is much, you ſhall not ſhow me one Proteſtant
"Divine of any note or *eminency*, even among the *Reformers*
"*of Religion*, who ever did condemne this booke of the leaſt
"*point of Popery*: But on the contrary did commend it and de-
"fend it againſt all petty-preachers who refuſed it, as you do.
"Learned *Bucer* thus affirmeth, *in the ceremonies of the Engliſh* *Bucer. Script.*
"*Lyturgy, I have found nothing which is not taken out of the* *Anglic. in con.*
"*Word of God, or, at leaſt, which is repugnant to it, ſo it be fa-* *pag. 456.*
"*vourably underſtood.* *Calvin* himſelfe peruſing the *Lyturgy*, *Calvin. epiſt.*
"declared that he found no fault in it at all; *and wrote to the* *200. fol. 336.*
"*Engliſh exiles at Franckford, who had made a rent & ſchiſm*
"*in the Church, to be moderate, and return to the Church, Vas*
"*ultra modum rigidos eſſe nolim.* I would not have you ſtiffe
"above meaſure; and bids them returne to Conformity, and
"proponeth his owne opinion, *in Anglorum controverſia*
"*moderationem ſemper tenui, cujus me non pœnitet.* In the
"controverſie of England I have ever kept a moderation,
"whereof I do not repent: and was very much offended with
"thoſe who would not *yeeld* in ſuch *indifferent things*, for
"peace ſake. It was *Calvin* with *Peter Martyr* who by many
"arguments perſwaded Biſhop *Hooper* to *conformity*, eſpe-
"cially,

"cially to put on the *Surpleſſe*, which he did. I might produce
"all the reſt of thoſe worthy divines, *Beza*, *Melancton*, *Bullin-*
"*ger*, *Peter Martyr*, *Gualter*, *Zanchius*, who all of them con-
"demn your *opinion & ſchiſmaticall practice*, who had rather
"rent the body of *Chriſt Jeſus*, then yeeld to any thing that
"doth not content your turbulent luſts: and therefore your
"praiers are turned into ſin, while you *pray the Lord of heaven*
"*truly and fully to inform his Majeſty how farre this Book is*
"*ful of Idolatrous ſuperſtitions and popiſh errors*, as you affirm
"in your proteſtation againſt his Majeſties Proclamation. And
"it is no marvell that you condemne this *Booke of Common*
"*Praier*, ſeeing you have condemned your *owne book of Com-*
"*mon* Praier made at your *Reformation*. The Ring-leaders of
"your *faction* condemne all *ſet Praier* whatſoever, all *ſet form*
"of celebration of the *Sacraments* & *Marriages*. The praiers
"which were read ſince the Reformation til this rupture, are
"now baniſhed the Church, yea your Ring-leaders have bani-
"ſhed the *Lords Praier*, and ſay that thoſe who uſe it make it
"an *Idoll*: & therefore in their praiers it is never mentioned,
"to the great ſcandall & grief of many poor ſouls among you,
"who yet love it, becauſe Chriſts command is, when you pray,
"ſay, *Our Father which art in heaven, &c.* You *Baptize*, cele-
"lebrate the *Communion*, not as you were wont to do, after the
"*form* ſet down unto you at the Reformation: but every day
"after a *diverſe forme and manner*, being *changeable* like the
"wind; ſo do you with *Marriage*. Thus you differ from *your*
James 1.8. "*ſelfe* like the *double minded man, who is unſtable in all his*
"*waies; wavering like the waves of the ſea, driven with the*
"*wind, & toſſed*. And what pleaſeth you to day, diſpleaſeth you
"to morrow. You do alſo daily coin *new* Articles of faith, as to
"beleeve *Epiſcopacy* to be *Antichriſtian*: and the *young Lay-*
"*elder* government to be that which Chriſt hath appointed in
"his Church. It is an *Article of your faith* to beleeve, that to
"receive the body & bloud of Jeſus Chriſt, in the humble ge-
"ſture of *kneeling* is *idolatry*. It is an *Article of your faith*,
"that it is *Popery*, if the Church ſet apart *a day* for the ſolemn
"and thankfull commemoration of Gods love to the world,
Galat. 4 4. "*who ſo loved the world, that when the fulneſſe of time was*
"*come*,

" come, *ſent forth his Sonne made of a woman, made under the*
" *Law, to redeeme them which were under the Law; that wee*
" *might receive the adoption of Sons.* It is an *Article of your*
" *faith*, that it is *Popery* if the Church doth ſet apart *a day* for
" the ſolemne and publike commemoration of the *Paſsion of*
" *Chriſt*, that *the people may looke unto Jeſus the Author and*
" *Finiſher of their faith, who for the joy that was ſet before him* Heb. 12. 2.
" *endured the croſſe, deſpiſing the ſhame.* It is an *Article of your*
" *faith*, that it is *Popery* to give the Communion *on Paſch day.*
" Its an *Article of your faith*, that it is Popery, if the Church
" appoint *a day* for the thankfull remembrance of Chriſts *A-*
" *ſcenſion* into Heaven. Its an *Article of your faith*, that its *Po-*
" *pery*, if the Church appoint *a day* for the thankfull remem-
" brance of the *Deſcenſion of the Holy Ghoſt* on *Whitſunday*, to
" give gifts unto men. Its an *Article of your faith*, that the
" *Service Booke* is *Popiſh.* Its an *Article of your faith*, that the
" *Book of Canons* (which directly overthrowes the Popiſh Su-
" premacie) and the *High Commiſsion* are *abjured* in your
" Confeſſion of faith. Its an *Article of your faith*, that it was
" the *intention* of thoſe whom you call *bleſſed Reformers*, that
" all the *foreſaids*, which you have in your Covenant *abjured*
" *expreſly*, was abjured by them alſo *as well as if it had bin ex-*
" *preſly ſet downe*: which is the moſt ridiculous thing in the
" world; for *intentio eſt actus immanens*, which is impoſſible
" for any man to know, except it bee revealed. And therefore
" ſince there is ſuch difference among your ſelves, every day
" bringing forth new *dreames*; ſince to you ſome things are
" ſometimes *indifferent*, ſometimes *neceſſary good*, ſometimes
" *neceſſary evill*, ſometimes a matter *of faith*, ſomerimes *Not*: I
" cannot but end this diſcourſe with that of *Hilarius* in Appli- *Hilar. cont.*
" cation to you: *Faith is come now to depend rather on the time* *Conſtant.*
" *then on the Goſpel: our ſtate is dangerous and miſerable, that*
" *we have now as many Faiths as wills, as many doctrines as*
" *manners. Whilſt Faiths are either ſo written as we liſt, or ſo*
" *underſtood as we will, we make every yeer & every moneth a*
" *faith, and ſtill we ſeek a faith, as if there were no faith. This I*
" *would fain know of you, what faith at length you beleeve? you*
" *have changed ſo often, that now I know not your faith. That*

" *is*

" *is happened unto you, which is wont to follow unskilfull build-*
" *ders, ever disliking their owne doings, that you still put down*
" *that which you are still putting up. You subvert the old with*
" *the new, and the new you rent asunder with a new correction:*
" *and that which was once corrected, you condemne with a se-*
" *cond correction. O wicked men, what a mockery do you make*
" *of the Church! onely dogs returne to their vomit, and you*
" *compell the Priests to sup up those things which they have*
" *spit forth; and doe you command them in their confession to*
" *allow that which before they condemned? What Bishops hand*
" *have you left innocent? What tongue have you not forced to*
" *falshood? Whose heart hast thou not brought to the condem-*
" *ning of his former opinion? You have subjected all to your*
" *will, and to your violence. Thus* Hilarius.

" And therefore of those your *new-coyned articles* (especial-
" ly of your abjuring *Episcopacy*, and establishing *Presbyteriall*
" *discipline*) I may wel say that of *Ierom. Plantatio vestra non*
Ierom. in Psal. 107. " *est vetus, sed novella est; non est de veteri lege, non de Prophe-*
" *tis, non de Apostolis, sed de novis magistris est.* Your planta-
" tion is not old, but a novelty, (for it is not three yeers old) it
" is not taken out of the old Law, nor from the Prophets, nor
" from the Apostles, but new masters. And therefore, *adulte-*
Cypr. lib. 1. c. 8. " *rum est, impium est, sacrilegum est, quicquid humano furore*
" *instituitur, ut dispositio divina violetur.* Whatsoever is esta-
" blished by the fury of man, whereby the divine disposition is
" violated, is an adulterate, wicked & sacrilegious matter. And
August. lib. 4. de Bapt. cap. 24. " I hold that, as an undoubted rule of *Augustine*, *Quod uni-*
" *versalis tenuit ecclesia, quodq; non Conciliis institutum sed*
" *semper retentum est, non nisi Apostolicâ authoritate traditum*
" *rectissimè creditur.* Whatsoever the *Catholike Church* hath
" holden, & which was not instituted by *Councels*, but ever kept
" in the Church, that is most rightly beleeved to be an *Aposto-*
" *licall tradition*: and he brings for instances those *holy daies*,
" which your Covenant *abjures*, which hath ever been retai-
" ned in the Church from the Apostles daies. And albeit wee
" could not prove *Episcopacy* from Scripture (as wee may very
" wel prove it, and is proved by those who defend the same) yet
" this unquestionable rule of *Augustine* will bee sufficient to

" prove

"prove it to be of *Apostolicall institution*; for you say, it is not of "*Divine institution*, and I say, it is not instituted by *Councels*: "and yet all that are but little exercised in *antiquitie*, shall "find that *Episcopacie* was ever in the Church from the Apostles "daies, till this present time that it is called in question. And "beside that rule of *Augustine*, consider that it is the *generall* "*tradition* of the *Catholike Church*, that *Episcopacie* hath ever "been in it, as an *Apostolicall institution*. And by this *generall* "*tradition* of the Catholike Church, we are as certain, that it is "of *Apostolicall institution*, as wee are certaine of the *received* "*number* of the *Canonicall bookes* of Scripture: for we receive "and take that number upon the *continued generall tradition* of "the Catholike Church of Christ from age to age. We reject & "detest *particular traditions* of any *present particular* Church; "such as are those of the Church of *Rome*, if they cannot shew "those *traditions* to have been *generally* received *at all times* "in the Catholike Church. But there is no Protestant that doth "not receive *generall traditions* of the Catholike Church; such "as is this, concerning the *definite number* of the bookes of the "Canonicall Scripture: and if I would assume a schismaticall hu-"mour, I might with as good warrants deny, that there are so "many books in the *Canon*, as the Catholike Church saies there "bee; as you denie *Episcopacie* to bee of *Apostolicall institu-*"*tion*.

Thus have I briefly shown you the passages between the *Anticovenanter* and *Covenanter*, which I leave to your consideration, and returne to my purpose. From this sweet harmonie in the preceding points, especially of your *independent power* in Church matters, there followeth another parallel by way of consequence, *viz.* that you may excommunicate your King, if he doe not obey the Acts & Constitutions of your Assemblies. Thus you threatned King *James* and his Councel both, with excommunication, if he would not execute your Acts of your Assembly; and good reason, seeing it is the *supreme Judicatory*, and the King is a *son of your Church, from whom he ought to take the meaning*. And if he be refractarie, why may not the Assembly excommunicate him, as *Ambrose* did *Theodosius*? And as I have said already from your *Travers*, of your government, *Huic disciplinæ* VIII.

omnes Principes, &c. There is a neceſſity that all Princes & Monarchs ſhould ſubmit their Scepter, and obey this Diſcipline. Its your *chief Commander in the Camp royal. Thomas Cartwright* being asked, *whether the King himſelf might be excommunicated*; anſwered, *That excommunication ſhould not bee exerciſed upon Kings, I utterly miſlike*: and ſo do we alſo; yea, albeit they be not Heretickes themſelves, yet if they doe not puniſh ſuch as their Paſtors commands them, they may be excommunicate. *Poteſt ac debet Paſtor regibus jubere ut puniant Hæreticos, & niſi fecerint, etiam cogere per excommunicationem.* The Paſtor may, and ought to command Kings to puniſh Hereticks, & if they doe it not, even to compell them with excommunication. But eſpecially, *ſi ſit Hæreticorum vel Schiſmaticorum fautor, receptor, vel defenſor*; if he bee a favourer, receiver or defender of Heretickes and Schiſmatickes. If your Biſhops bee ſuch men, is not this your Kings fault? your *fault is, that you uſe but too much lenity*, in not aſcending from the *Myter* to the *Crowne*; for this may ſtand very well with your Tenent and ours, though Proteſtant Divines diſclaim it: for your *Buchanan* teacheth you, that not only it is lawfull to *excommunicate* Princes, but that they ſhould both *depoſe*, and *deſtroy* him; for hee ſayes, *Miniſters may excommunicate Princes, and he being by excommunication caſt into Hell, is not worthy to enjoy any life upon earth.* But truely, *Knox* & *Buchanan* are more *rigid* then we are herein; for howbeit, we grant that it's lawfull to excommunicate Kings yet wee hold it not neceſſary that upon excommunication, either *depoſition* or *killing* ſhould follow. Indeed by our common Tenent it will follow that excommunication is an *antecedent* to deprivation or killing; but we doe not hold that deprivation or killing of Princes is a neceſſary *conſequent*, or *effect* of excommunication. For (ſay we) *quando talis effectus adjungitur, non eſt effectus ipſius excommunicationis, ſed ſpecialis pœna ſimul cum excommunicatione impoſita.* When ſuch an effect is joyned to excommunication its not the effect of it, but a ſpeciall puniſhment impoſed with it. But its wonderfull to ſee the wide difference betweene this our Tenent and yours, and that which Proteſtants hold; for they make the power of the ſupreme Magiſtrate *Architectonicke*, and ſubject unto it, all power *civill* & *Eccleſiaſticall*.

Bellar. contra Barklaium.

Azor. inſt. moral. part. 2. l. 10. cap. 9.

Buchan. de jure reg. apud Scot. pag. 70.

Suarez. de cenſur. diſp. 15. ſect. 6.

So

So that, as in civill affaires they use the counsell and helpe of Politicians and Jurisconsults for establishing of Laws, according to *reason*; so in Ecclesiasticall businesse, they use the helpe and advice of learned Divines for establishing religion according to *Gods Word*, which ought never to depart from their hands. And its most boldly said by them in the words of Bishop *Davenant*; *Reges non ita astringuntur Episcoporum vel Theologorum suorum opinionibus, quin si adversentur legi divinæ (cujus oportet reges studiosissimos & peritissimos esse) teneantur ex officio regio, veram religionem illis omnibus licet reclamantibus, tueri, & subditis suis proponere*: Kings are not so tyed to the opinions of their Bishops and Theologues, but if they bee contrary to the Law of God, (of the which Kings ought to be great studiers, and very well skilled) they are bound by *their Kingly Office* to defend the true religion, and set it before their Subjects, albeit all those Divines should cry out against it. But those men are *Court Parasites*, as your usuall word is; or as *Becanus* calls those that defend the Kings Supremacie, *regios adulatores*, King-flatterers. And I admire that *Tertullian* being under Heathen Emperours should bee guilty of those flatteries, while he sayes in a Court-like Complement, *Reges in solius Dei potestate sunt, à quo sunt secundi, post quem primi, ante omnes, & super omnes deos & homines*: Kings are only in the power of God, from whom they are second, after whom they are first, before all, & above all gods and men. But I like not to trouble my selfe with such men, but proceed to another head:

Daven. deter. quæst. 19.

Tertul. ad Scap.

IX.

Which is concerning the power of your Discipline in temporall things, wherein is a question whether our, or your discipline, *the chiefe Commander in the Camp royall*, have the greatest power. You do learnedly hold, that the Kings high Court of Parliament, *cannot hinder you to make Lawes Ecclesiasticall, seeing your Ecclesiasticall government is independent*. Yea, you doe hold, that your Assemblies may *repeale* and *adnull*, even the Ecclesiasticall lawes that are *confirmed* in Parliament, so that upon your re-calling them, the *sanction* of the Parliament is *nullitated*, and of no *effect*. Your owne words are Emphaticall: *Albeit acts of generall Assemblies be ratified in Parliament, yet a generall Assembly may recall those confirmed acts, which being*

Answer to the Marques *Hamiltons* Declaration.

Ibidem.

adnulled, the civill ratification and sanction fall ex consequenti. Certainely I dare promise you the Popes blessing for this most learned *Thesis*: for now a *door is opened to let in all Popery*, whether the King will or no; so that I trust (as I said at the beginning) our Union shalbe full. For since your Assemblies have such power over Parliaments, as to *adnull all Ecclesiasticall lawes confirmed therein* (as you have done already with Episcopacy and the articles of *Perth*, which stand ratified and confirmed by divers acts of Parliament) then it shall be easie for you at any Assembly, when or where you wil, to *repeal* and *adnul* all the ecclesiasticall lawes *ratified* and *confirmed* by *Act of Parliament* in favour of the *Protestant Religion*: and to establish new lawes for our Roman Religion in stead of it, though the *King, Parliament and Councell* should resist you. You have good reason for it: for as *Bellarmine* sayes, *Habet se potestas ecclesiastica ad secularem, quomodo Spiritus se habet ad carnem, quam regit, moderatur, & aliquando cohibet. Caro autem nullum habet imperium in spiritum, neq; illum ulla in re dirigere, vel judicare, vel coercere potest. Sic igitur potestas ecclesiastica, quæ spiritualis est, ac per hoc naturaliter seculari superior, secularem potestatem cum opus est, dirigere, judicare, & coercere potest, ipsam verò à seculari dirigi vel coerceri nullâ ratione permittitur.* The *ecclesiasticall power* is to the *secular power*, as the *spirit* is to the *flesh*; which rules, moderates, and sometimes restraines. But the *flesh* hath no command over the *spirit*: neither can it direct, or judge, or restraine it in any thing. So then the *ecclesiasticall power* which is spirituall, and therefore naturally *superiour* to the *secular*, may *direct, judge*, and *restraine* the secular power when it is needfull. But by no reason is it permitted to bee *directed* or *restrained* by the *secular power*: and therefore when your King did by his Proclamation discharge your Assembly at *Glasgow*, which ought to *direct him*, and not bee *cohibited* or *restrained* by him, you did well to sit still, and *adnull* divers acts of Parliament. And in your *Protestation* against the Kings Proclamation for raising your Assembly, as it was your wisdome not to enter into *direct* action with his Majesty, so it was your courage, *to summon all the Lords of his Majesties Councell who consented to the Proclamation to appear before the Parliament the 25. of May*, 1639. There

Bell. de clericis, lib. 1. cap. 29.

Protestat. Novemb. 29. 1638.

to

to be punished for giving the King *evill counsell*, viz. *to raise the Assemblies*. When the K. commands one thing by *acts of Parliament*, or by his *Proclamations*, you may *protest* against the same, and *command* the contrary in your *protestations* and *acts of Assemblies*: for, as we say well, *penes ecclesiæ præpositos facultas est amplissima interdicendi nobis, ne reges obedientiâ & obsequio nostro honoremus*. These that are set over us in the Church have a very large power given them, even to interdict us, that we honour not our Ks. with our obedience. So the Councell of Trent cōmands all to receive the decrees, without regard to their *Princes consent*, and denounceth *excommunication* in case of refusall, requires an *oath of obedience*, approveth *violence* in rooting out of heresie, & ordains the Inquisition for them. Therfore when the King by his *Proclamation* did *command* that the *Covenant* of K. *James* as it was in 1581. yeer of God, should be subscribed, you by *your authority* did *prohibite* any to subscribe it, but will have *your own* subscribed. For this cause in your *general Assembly* you have set down *An act discharging subscription to the Covenant which was subscribed by the Kings Commissioner and Lords of the Councell*: which his Majesty, in his marginall note, calls *a traiterous act*. You have another excellent Act, *discharging all Printers in Scotland to print any thing in Ecclesiastical affaires without the warrant of* Jhonston *your Clerk*. You have Acts also concerning *mills, salt pans, and market dayes on Munday and Saturday*. And especially your Assembly hath adnulled his Majesties *Court of high Commission*: all this we see in the *Index* of your Acts, & all is well done, though it encroach upon the *civill power*: for *in temporalibus Ecclesia non solùm præcipit, dirigit, sed coercet, disponit, virtute potestatis gubernativa*. In temporall things the Church not only *commands* & *directs*, but *restrains* & dispones by vertue of her *gubernative power*. And you know we do not maintain a *direct* power in *temporall things*, but an *indirect* power *in ordine ad spiritualia*; for we stand not upon *words*, when we are sure of the *matter it self*, and may bring all *temporality* within the compasse of *our power*. But I pray you, why did you forget to adnull the Acts of Parliament that doe ratifie the Kings *Supremacy*, especially in *spirituall things*? since you have adnulled other Acts of Parliament, why have you prejudged

Autor. lib. ad persecut. Angl. fol. 336.

Odard. West. in Sanctuar. juris Pontif. §. 6

your

your ſelves ſo much as to leave thoſe acts for *Supremacie* uncancelled? If you had remembred the complaint of your holy brethren in former times, you would not have forgotten this, but as you have *de facto*, taken it away, ſo *de jure*, you would have declared the ſame an *unlawfull act*: for (as your predeceſſors ſaid) *If the King have ſupreme power in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, then there is nothing left of the whole antient forme of Juſtices and Policies in the ſpiritnall eſtate, but a naked ſhadow.*

Thinus addition to *Holinſhed*, pag. 446.

X.

I goe on to a tenth Parallel, which is your *diſpenſation with oaths*; even with the *oath of Allegeance* and *Supremacy*, & with the *oath of Canonicall obedience*. You will not upbraid us againe with this, as if we were only *enemies* and *traitors* to Kings: For we diſpence with no Subjects oath of Allegeance, ſo long as they defend the religion; but if they either fall from the religion themſelves, or will not defend it by the civill ſword, we doe abſolve ſubjects of their *oath of Allegeance*, as we did in the *holy League* of France, tying all to us by covenant very like unto yours, and in the end, took up armes againſt the King: For Kings fall from their authority, when they fall from religion, as you ſay in your Covenant: *The Kings authority and true religion are ſo ſtrictly joyned together, that they ſtand and fall together.* And therefore you do well to limit your obedience unto him, ſo long as hee *defends the Religion and Lawes*, wherein if he faile, by oath of Covenant you have made a *mutuall band of defence againſt him*, ſo that what is *done to the leaſt of you, ſhall be done to you all in generall and particular*. And ſo, if he ſhall doe any harm to the meaneſt *Kitchin boy*, you are all in generall and particular bound to take his part againſt your King. Now all this could not bee lawfully done, without a *Diſpenſation* and *Abſolution* from your oath of Allegeance taken long before the Covenant. Our enemies ſay, that they who thus being abſolved from their *oath of Allegeance*, doe take up armes againſt *their Prince*, will have ſuch ſucceſſe in the end as *Radulphus* Duke of Swevia (whom *Gregory* the ſeventh abſolved from his oath of Allegeance to *Henry* the fourth the Emperor;) received in battel againſt the Emperour, and hopes that they ſhall make the like confeſſion as he did. For he being deadly wounded in the right hand, ſaid to his Company, *You ſee how my right hand is ſore*

Helmold in Chron. Slavorum. cap. 29.

of

of a hurt, it is the hand whereby I ſware to my Lord and Maſter, that I would never annoy him, that I would never lye in ambuſh to intercept his glory: but the Popes commands brought me to this, to breake my Oath, and uſurpe an honour which was not due to me. You ſee what end it is come to, I have received this mortall wound upon the hand that brake this Oath. Let them then who have incited us to do ſo, conſider in what manner they urged us, for feare that we be not brought to the downefall of damnation, &c. But be not you *troubled nor afraid of ſhadowes: But let unity be earneſtly recommended, as that which ſtrengthens the cauſe, and will make you invincible.* Your ſucceſſe hath beene great hitherto, ſo that you may *have confidence for the time to come.*

Covenanters inform. for Defenſive. § 4. & 2.

You have alſo diſpenſed with the Oath of *Canonicall obedience:* for I cannot thinke that you would exact of your Clergie the Oath of *your Covenant*, except you did firſt give them a diſpenſation for their former Oathes. For all have ſworne the Oath of Canonicall Obedience, ſome once, ſome thrice, and all admitted ſince the yeare 1618. had ſworne to *Perths* Articles, and preſent government of the Church, and now have taken the direct contradictory Oath, and *abjured them all.* And therefore it was not ill adviſed by you, to make an Act in your generall Aſſembly at *Glaſgow, Novemb.* 1638. *declaring the nullity of the Oath exacted by Prelates of intrants, and of their bonds of Conformity.*

But here I muſt tell you, that you are gone a little beyond us in your diſpenſation with the *Oath of Allegiance* to your King, and taking the *Oath of mutuall defence* againſt him: for according to our practiſe, you ought by all means endeavoured to recall him from his errours, and being *obſtinate*, then to excommunicate him: for as our *Tolet* ſaies well, *Licet ſit notorium crimen principis, non abſolvuntur vaſalli à juramento (ut bene dicit Cajetanus) ante denunciationem ab Eccleſia: quâ factâ, non ſolum ſunt abſoluti ab obedientia, ſed tenentur non obedire, niſi forte propter periculum vitæ, vel damnum bonorum temporalium.* Albeit the crime of the Prince bee notorious, yet the Vaſſals are not abſolved from their Oath (as *Cajetan* ſaies well) before the ſentence be denounced by the Church: which being done, they are not only abſolved from

obedience, but alſo are bound not to obey, except perchance for danger of their life, or loſſe of temporall goods. And *Emanuel Sa* ſaies the ſame. *Tyrannicè gubernans, juſtè acquiſito Dominio non poteſt ſpoliari ſine publico judicio: latâ verò ſententiâ, poteſt quiſque fieri executor. Poteſt autem deponi à populo etiam qui illi juraverat obedientiam perpetuam, ſi monitus, non vult corrigi.* A Tyrant that ruleth tyrannically, cannot have his juſtly acquired Dominion taken from him, without publike judgement: but the ſentence being given, any man may be the executioner, and he may be depoſed by the people who have ſworne perpetuall obedience unto him, if after admonition hee will not be amended. And then it followeth clearely which *Suarez* ſaith, *Si ſubditi juramento ſoluti ſunt, quamvis rex ille proditionem vocet, omniſq; regni aut reipublicæ conſpirationem, revera tamen talis non eſt, ſed juſta defenſio, vel juſtum bellum, ſeu ſupplicium.* If the Subjects be abſolved from their oath, albeit that the King call it treaſon, and a conſpiracy of all the Kingdome and Common-wealth, yet certainly, it is no ſuch thing, but a juſt defence, or juſt warre, or puniſhment.

Emanuel Sa in voce Tyrannus.

Suarez lib. 6. cap. 3.

But I muſt crave your pardon for ſaying, that you went beyond us; for there are ſome of us as hot-blouded as your ſelves. *De fide certum eſt quemcunque Principem Chriſtianum, ſi à Religione catholica deflexerit, & alios avocare voluerit, excidere ſtatim omni poteſtate & dignitate, idq; antè prolatam Papæ ſententiam: poſſéque & debere ſubditos, ſi vires habeant, iſtiuſmodi Hæreticum ex hominum Chriſtianorum dominatu ejicere.* It is certainly a matter of Faith, that whatſoever Chriſtian Prince ſhall depart from the Catholike religion, and ſhall withdraw others, doth immediately fall from all power and dignity, even before the Popes ſentence be given; and that the Subjects may, and ſhould (if they have ſtrength) caſt forth ſuch an Heretick from the dominion of Chriſtian men. To this purpoſe, your Reformer *Knox* ſayes well. *If Princes be Tyrants againſt God and his Truth, their Subjects are free from their Oath of Obedience.* And in his Hiſtory of Scotland, *pag.* 343. he ſets the Nobility on work, ſaying. *God hath appointed the Nobility to bridle the inordinate appetite of Princes, and in ſo doing, they can-*

Philopat. 2. pag. 109.

Knox to England and Scotland, fol. 78.

not

not be accuſed, as reſiſters of Authority. And againe, *It is the duty of the Nobility to repreſſe the rage and inſolency of Princes,* and then, he conjoynes the Nobility and the people together againſt the *Supreme Magiſtrate*, ſaying, *The Nobility and Commonalty ought to reforme Religion, and in that caſe may remove from honours, and may puniſh ſuch, as God hath condemned,* Deut. 12. *of what eſtate, condition, or honour ſoever.* For as he ſayes well in the ſame place, *The puniſhment of ſuch crimes as touch the Majeſty of God, doth not appertaine to Kings and chiefe Rulers onely, but alſo to the whole body of the people, and to every member of the ſame; as occaſion, vocation, and ability ſhall ſerve to revenge the injury done againſt God.* I will not ſpend time to ſhew this by your practiſes againſt *Queene regent*, who did oppoſe your courſe, how by M. *Knox* and his followers, an *Oath of Confederacy* was taken: and *the Nobility threatned to joyne with you under the paine of excommunication.* pag. 272. Then an imperious letter was written to her Majeſty, that if ſhe ſhould hinder their reformation, * *They ſhould be compelled to take the Sword of juſt defence:* and proteſted that without the reformation which they deſired, *they would never be ſubject to any mortall man.* And laſt of all, They depoſed her Majeſty at the Councell of our good friend, M. *Knox*, by a formall act penned by M. *Knox*, and ſet downe in his Hiſtory of the *Church* of *Scotland.* And you doe well (as you ſay in your Covenant) *to follow the laudable example of your Progenitors,* as dutifull children, according to that of the Wiſeman, *Heare, ye children, the inſtruction of a father, and attend to know underſtanding: for I give you good doctrine; forſake you not my law.* And our worthy Father *Mariana* hath ſhowne you a ready way, which you, as dutifull Sonnes, have hitherto diligently followed. *Non diſſimulandum eſſe, expeditam autem maximè, & tutam viam eſſe, ſi publici conventus facultas detur, communi conſenſu, quid ſtatuendum ſit deliberare, fixum ratúmque habere quod communi ſententiâ ſteterit. Movendus imprimis Princeps erit, atque ad ſanitatem revocandus, &c. qui ſi medicinam reſpuat, neque ſpes ulla ſanitatis relinquatur, ſententiâ pronunciatâ, licebit reipublicæ ejus imperium detractare primum. Et quoniam bellum neceſſariò concitabitur, ejus defendendi*

Knox Appeal. fol. 33.

Ibid. fol. 28. & 9.

Knox hiſt. of the Church of Scotland page 217.

* *Ibid.* 265.

page 378.

Prov. 4. 1.

Marian. lib. 6 de reg cap. 6 p. 59.

dendi consilia explicare, expedire arma, pecunias in belli sumptus imperare populis: & si res ferret, neque aliter se respublica tueri posset, eodem defensionis jure, ac verò potiori auctoritate & propria, principem publicè hostem declaratum FERRO PERIMERE. This is not to be dissembled, that it is the most expedient and safe way, if a publike meeting may be granted, to deliberate what shall be done by common consent, to hold that as firme and sure, which shall be concluded by common consent. First of all, the Prince is to be admonished, and to be brought to his wits againe, *&c.* If he reject the medicine, and no hope of his recovery be left, when the sentence is passed upon him, the Common-wealth may first refuse his command; and because of necessitie, there will be a stirring up for warre, they may unfold their counsels for defence thereof, and shew that it is expedient to have armour, and to command the people to advance monies for the charge of the warres. And if the matter will suffer, and the Common-wealth cannot otherwise defend it selfe, with that same right of defence, but with a *better authority*, and peculiar of their owne, they may kill the Prince, being declared publikely an enemy.

You have followed this counsell so full, that you have practised it to the last *comma*; yea, till you come to the last two words, FERRO PERIMERE. At which, the *Anti-covenanter* cries out with a shout, *God save the King, let his soule be bound up in the bundle of life.* Let this dreame of *Ferro perimere* bee to them that hate him, and the interpretation thereof to his enemies.

* To conveene them from *Dan* even to *Beer-sheba.*

First of all, you sent from *Edinburg*, thousands of Letters to all corners of the kingdome for a * *publike convention*; then by the *common consent* of all that appeare, your Covenant (made by the chiefe men of the confederacy) was *sworn* and *subscribed*, and all of them (bound not to give obedience to the King) but to hold sure and firme, what should be thought *good by common consent.* Your admonitions, supplications and protestations have beene multiplied, but all in vaine: for, as you say in your protestations, he is so farre from acknowledging those things to bee *unlawfull*, which you have

have condemned, that in his Proclamations he holdeth the plaine *contrary opinion*; and only doth remove them, as they say, for the hardnesse of your heart, and to preserve peace in the Land. And therefore, since he rejects your medicine, as poyson; Is there any hope of his recovery, that is, that ever he shall be of your *judgement?*

And as for *lata sententia*, though it be not done *formally*, yet it's done very *materially*, in every corner of the Kingdome. It's a remarkable sentence past by one of you, preaching upon some text of the Prophet *Zachary* (though it may be said, that his Commenter was from 2 *Sam.* 15. 16.) *The Lord hath forsaken our King, and given him over to be led by the Bishops, the blind brood of Antichrist; who are hot begles, hunting for the bloud of Gods Saints.* R. B. And another preached as well upon the 1 *Cor.* 10. 1. Where he told, that they of the holy Covenant were like *Israel at the red sea, and Pharaoh and his Host comming upon them.* D. E. Another was as forward as any of them, When hee compared the King to a wicked *Italian*, who delighted to *kill men both in soul and body.* H. R. Another that he might hinder the people ro subscribe the Kings Covenant, preached unto them, *That the Kings offer of the Covenant to them was, like Ioabs salutation of Amasa, who tooke him by the beard, and said, art thou well my brother, and then stabbed him in the fifth rib.* G. Y. And M. *Cant* (whom for honours sake I name) his Sermon at *Glasgow* is knowne to all our Society, he prayed God *to take away the Kings Idolatry, and said, that the deare Saints in England had their nose and their eares slit, for the profession of the Gospell.* I might be infinite in this point, but because it is so well known, I spare further instancing.

The next point is *Detractatio imperij*, this you have done excellently, by not only refusing obedience to his *Laws civill* and *ecclesiasticall*, and to his *Proclamations*; but also by continuall *protesting* against him, and exhorting all to stand to the *Covenant*. You have also kept your *counsell of warre*, provided *Armour*, laid *taxations* on the people to defray the charges: and the King is *publicè hostis declaratus*, publikely declared to be your enemy by the ministery, pressing them to Armes by your learned informations: and have taken all his Castles and

strength from him, and say that they are the keyes *of your owne kingdome, which you will keepe your selves.* And lastly you are come so neere to *Ferro perimere*, that you have met him with offensive armes. But I pray you, what made you stand here? what made you make a period, where was no comma? Can you thinke it unlawfull to kill a King, and yet set your muskets, pikes, and Canons before the face of a King, and shoot at randome? It cannot be, that you have learned *Knox* and *Buchanan* so ill, and you deserve no reward. Let that golden sentence of *Buchanan* never be forgotten. Whiles he saies, *It were good that rewards were appointed by the people, for such as should kill tyrants, as commonly there is for those, that have killed either Wolves or Beares, or taken their whelps.*

Protest. at *Edenburg.* 18. Decemb. 1638

Buch. de jure reg. apud Scot. pag. 40.

Suarez. lib. 6. §. 6.

Your case was, that which is supposed by *Suarez. Si supponatur rex aggrediens civitatem ut illam injustè perdat, & cives interficiat, vel quid simile, tunc certè licebit principi resistere, etiam occidendo illum, si aliter fieri non possit defensio, tum quia si pro vita propria hoc licet, multo magis pro communi bono, tum etiam quia civitas ipsa tunc habet justum bellum defensivum, contra injustum invasorem, etiamsi proprius sit rex.* If it be supponed that the King is comming against a citie, unjustly to destroy it, and to kill the Citizens, or any such like thing, Then certainly, they may resist the Prince, even killing him, if they cannot otherwise defend themselves: both because, if this be lawfull to be done for a mans owne life, much more for the common good, and also because the citie it selfe hath then a just defensive warre against an unjust invader, albeit he were their owne King. This *Thesis* hath beene well studied by you, for it is the ground of all your learned arguments for warre.

But now since his Majestie is returned backe againe with his army, and this first storme is gone without hurt, be not you idle, but labour for some friends at Court, who may inform you of his Majesties *Proceedings.* And if you send any to court, let that be ever one of your instructions, which you gave to the Earle of *Dumfermling*, and the Lord *Lowden. To have frequent and sure advertisement to you how affaires go, with their advise. Amen.* And be still upon your guard, and let the *Flac-*

Novemb. 2. 1639.

cinian

cinian counsell take place with you (if you heare that he shall refuse to approve of your proceedings) *to affright him with the terrour of insurrection againe.* And desire all that are doubtfull and scrupulous of this matter to read *Knox* History and *Buchanans*, where they shall finde our doctrine very cleare. The peoples power is great. *Populus rege est praestantior & melior, &c.* The people are better then the King, and of greater authority. For *the people hath the same power over the King, that the King hath over any one person. Populo jus est, ut imperium cui vult deferat*, the people have power to bestow the crowne at their pleasure: its not *birthright*, nor *succession*, nor *propinquity of blood* that must be respected. Therefore *Knox* wrote to England and Scotland; Its not *birth-right only, nor propinquity of bloud that maketh a King lawfully to raigne above a people, professing Christ Iesus.* Let his Majesty know that you are no *Dunces*, but men of learning who know the greatnes of your power, and the smalnesse of his, notwithstanding of the flattery of Court Parasites.

Buch. de jure reg. pag. 61. Idem page 50.

Fol. 77.

But before I end this point, I cannot but admire why you have not continued your Parliament even to the end, but suffered his Majestie to adjourne it, you professe that *you follow the laudable example of your progenitors*, but if you do as they did 1560. you would not grant his Majesty a *Negative voice*, nor suffer the Parliament to bee adjourned, but to have done with it as you did with the Assembly at *Glasgow, Novemb.* 29. 1638. to continue it to the end, and then for the fashion to have sought *his Approbation*: for the reason is alike, as your assemblies are above him *in spiritualibus*, so is your Parliaments *in temporalibus*, and may be holden though there bee neither Sword, Scepter, nor Crown there. For as *Knox* saith, *those things were rather pompous and glorious vaine Ceremonies, then any substantiall points of necessity required to any lawfull Parliament.* And therefore after you had kept that Parliament of your own accord in *anno* 1560. for the *fashions* sake, you send to the King of *France* and your Scotch Queene his wife, to desire them to ratifie the same. But upon their refusall you spake as it became you, of their ratification. *We little regarded it, or yet doe regard: for all that we did was rather to shew*

Knox hist. of the Church of Scotland page 502.

Idem page 500.

ſhew our dutifull obedience, then to beg of them any ſtrength to our Religion. If you goe not thus farre, you come ſhort in following the laudable example of your Progenitors. And yet when I conſider the inſtructions given by the body of the Parliament to the Earle of *Dumfermling*, and the Lord *Lowdon*, I perceive that you are not a foot behinde your Progenitors, ſeeing you will not grant it to bee in the Kings power to prorogate the aſſembly, except you all conſent unto it, for your ſixth Article of the *inſtructions* is thus. *Item, If the King will not condeſcend to goe on preſently in Parliament, that the King prorogate the Parliament with conſent of the States, according to the conditions which you have.* I ſee further, that if he prorogate the aſſembly, it muſt not only be with your conſent, but alſo he muſt grant your petition ſent to his Majeſty, by the Earle of *Kincull* from the Parliament; before you will grant to any peaceable concluſion, or prorogation of the Parliament: for your ſole Argument to have your petition granted is in theſe words. *Without this point be granted, it is not poſſible to make a peaceable concluſion, or that they can reſt ſatisfied with the prorogation of the Parliament.* And leſt that the people ſhould reſt ſatisfied herewith, and your *Democracy* take no good ſucceſſe, the Miniſters would be exhorted to doe their part, not to ſuffer the people to ſettle upon their dregs, but to hold them in perpetuall motion till it end, to your perpetuall quietneſſe. This was the practiſe of the zealous Miniſters your Predeceſſors in the dayes of Queene-*Regent*, Queene *Mary* and in the tender age of King *Iames*, who did both in private and publike oppone themſelves to authority for the maintenance of our tenents concerning the *civill Magiſtrate*, and our other Prerogatives. This made King *Iames* our common enemy, ſpeake the truth in exceeding harſh termes, while he ſaid. *E miniſterio homines nonnulli præcipites, ignei, audaces, in hac humanarum divinarúmq; rerum confuſione, tam gratioſi apud plebem facti ſunt, ut deguſtata dominationis dulcedine, ceperunt Democraticam reipub. formam ſibi ſomniare; & primo aviæ, deinde matris meæ ſubverſione elati (& nimirum blandiebatur iis ſucceſſus) poſtremo pupillari meæ ætate ad Democratiæ ſuæ ſtabilimentum diu abuſi, jam poteſta-*

November 2. 1639.

Baſilic. doron. page 147.

poteſtatem tribunitiam ſpe certa devoraverant: ut in populari republica cum plebem, quò vellent, facile circumducerent, omnium negotiorum momenta ſoli temperarent. Itaq; nulla in mea pupillari ætate vel poſt, ſeditio contigit, quin hos homines ſui furoris et amentiæ patronos ſeditioſi facere conati ſint. Crebræ adverſus me in tribunitijs concionibus calumniæ ſpargebantur, non quod crimen aliquod deſignaſſem, ſed quia rex eram, quod omni crimine pejus habebatur. Some head-ſtrong, fiery, bold men of the Miniſters in this confuſion of humane and divine things, became ſo gracious with the multitude, that having taſted the ſweetneſſe of government, they began to dreame to themſelves a Democraticall forme of the Common-wealth. And firſt being puffed up with the overthrow of my Grandmother: and ſecondly, of my owne mother, (and truly their ſucceſſe flattered them:) Laſt of all, having long time abuſed my tender age for the eſtabliſhing of their Democracie, they had already by an aſſured hope fully taken to themſelves a tribunitiall power: that in a popular Common-wealth, they alone ruled all buſineſſe of moment, ſeeing they might eaſily leade the people, whither they pleaſed. And therefore, no ſedition hath hapned either in my tender age or afterward, wherein the ſeditious did not make thoſe men (the Miniſters) the patrons of their fury and madneſſe. There were frequent calumnies ſcattered abroad in their Tribunitiall Sermons againſt me, not that I had committed any crime, but becauſe I was a King, which was eſteemed worſe than all crimes. Indeed I find our Father *Becanus* telling the ſame, that you are enemies to Monarchie, in the example of Queen *Mary*. *An non Sereniſſima Maria, Sereniſſimi Iacobi mater habuit primatum temporalem in Scotia? omnino habuit, An non per vos de facto privata eſt? Nemo dubitat.* Had not the moſt illuſtrious Queene *Mary*, the mother of the moſt excellent King *Iames*, the Supremacy *in temporall things* in Scotland? [for neither you nor we will let them have it in *ſpirituall things*] certainly ſhe had it: but did not you deprive her of it? no man doubts of it. *Becan. examen. Concord. Angl.*

I will follow out then another paralell, and that is, *De cæcâ obedientiâ*. Of blinde obedience, which we both require XI.

now of our people. Your Covenant was mightily called in queſtion, even by the Commons, and yet you forced them to ſweare, and ſubſcribe it upon your bare word? telling them, that ſince the Church-men have ſworn & ſubſcribed it themſelves, that the Commons ought to do it, *and follow their Leaders, whom God at this time hath largely furniſhed with courage and counſell for the good of his Kirk and Kingdome.* I heare, that the things which you have condemned in your generall Aſſembly, were in the judgement of the common people of a contrary nature; but now, having in their Covenant ſworne in *judgement* and *practice*, to follow the determination of the firſt generall aſſembly that ſhould be kept, they are forced to forſake their owne judgement, and embrace the contrary, by vertue of the power of the generall aſſembly. To this purpoſe we ſay: The people are to ſubject to their Leaders, that if they erre in defining any doubt, the people* *vi regiminis*, by the force of our government over them, ought to erre. For in this blind obedience, * *requiritur propria voluntatis & judicii abnegatio, mancipatio, & in poteſtatem ſuperioris deditio.* There is required the denyall of our owne will and judgement, and a giving our ſelves over, as ſlaves in the power of our Superiors. To this purpoſe your *Andrew Cant* (whom I name oft for honours ſake) anſwered, as he was very able to doe, to thoſe who would have heard of him ſome reaſons for the ſubſcription of the Covenant, which he ſo earneſtly recommended in *Glaſgow*, and never brought a reaſon for it; he told them true, that they muſt *deny learning and reaſon, and help Chriſt a lift.* And our ever honoured Generall, the firſt Founder of our Society, *Ignatius Loyola*, tels us, that *Prudentia eſt imperantis, non obedientis.* Wiſdome belongeth to the Commander, not to the obeyer. And therefore his ordinance is this to his followers. *Statuere debetis vobiſcum, quicquid ſuperior præcipit ipſius Dei præceptum eſſe & voluntatem, atque ut ad credenda quæ fides catholica proponit, toto animo aſſenſuq; veſtro ſtatim incumbitis, ſic ad ea facienda quæcunque ſuperior dixerit, cæco quodam impetu volũtatis parendæ cupidæ, ſine ulla prorſus diſquiſitione feramini.* You ought to reſolve with your ſelves, that whatſoever your Superiour commands you, is the command and will of God him-

* *Colloq. Ratiſbon. Seſs. 9. pag. 282. & 288.*
* *Haſenmul. pag. 175.*
Ignat. Epiſt. de vitact. obed. 18.

himself. And even as you without delay yeeld with ful mind and assent to believe those things which the Catholike faith propones; so you ought to be carried to the doing of whatsoever your superiour shal say, with a certaine blind force of a will, that is desirous to obey. So said your *Cant* in that same Sermon at *Glasgow*, while he told the people, to whom he recommended the Covenant, *That he was sent to them with a cõmission from Christ to bid them subscribe the Covenant, which was Christs contract, and that he himself was come as a wooer to them for the bridegroom, and called upon them to come to be handfasted by subscribing that contract.* And told them plainly, *that he would not depart the town, till he got the names of all, who should refuse to subscribe that contract, of whom he promised to complain to his Master.*

I have yet more matter of congratulation: for, wheras formerly you did hold that Ecclesiasticall lawes do not *bind the conscience*, you do well now to maintain the contrary. And therfore you have deservedly depосed, & thrust from amongst you those ministers, who only offered to suffer your laws bind the outward man, and to conform with you in practice, but would not covenant with you, nor swear to be of your *judgement*. As for example. They promised to *sit* at the receiving of the Communion, as you do sit on your taile, and thus would conform in *practice* with you, but they requested you not to burden their *conscience, to believe sitting only necessary*, and that *kneeling is idolatry*. The like may be instanc'd in all the rest of the matters controverted amongst you. Since they would therfore conform *in practice*, and only differ *in judgement*; why might not you compell them to subscribe the covenant, and make them swear with you *before God and the world, that they were convinced in their consciences, of the lawfulnes of such things*. The Scripture bids *compel men to the wedding*, neither need you regard them, who cal your *holy violence* a *Spanish inquisition*. XII.

Furthermore, I am confident that you shall not bee such enemies to our *workes of supererogation*, as formerly you have beene: For when the King urged you to subscribe the *confession of faith*, you refused it, drawing your reason from the very ground, which hath produced all our *workes of su-* XIII.

perrogation, which is this, *That a good work, which is done of a mans owne accord, is more excellent then that which is done by command of a Superiour*, as you reason learnedly in your protestation in *September* 1638. and so conclude, that you have done a more syncere worke, and acceptable in covenanting without authoritie, than if you should doe it now at the command of your Superiour: for, (as you say) thus doing, *the more libertie, the lesse hypocrisy and more synceritie hath appeared.* If this ground of yours be removed, then both your *Covenant*, and our *Evangelicall counsels* will perish. And yet the *Anti-covenanter* will say, that the Scripture cals him the good servant that doth his Masters will: and whosoever do more than they are commanded by their Masters, get *Affricanus* thanks: *non amo nimium diligentes.*

XIV I thought to have congratulated with you, that you are most like unto us in *Equivocation*; for your owne ends, to perswade the people to believe, that which your own heart knoweth to be most false. As for example; to perswade the people before they did subscribe the covenant, that it is for defence of the King, against whom (you say) no man is bound by the covenant to rise up in defensive armes: and that you are only bound to suffer, if his Majestie were to invade you. But when they have subscribed, then you tell them that they must provide armour to resist the Kings comming to invade you. This made many poore simple men complain, that they were wronged, and that they would at least be perjured, if they should doe so. Yet the Scripture is plain for such equivocation for when the army sent by the King of *Syria* came to *Dothan*, where the
2 King 6.19. Prophet *Elisha* was, to fetch him to the King; the Prophet came out to them and said, *This is not the way, neither is this the city, follow me, and I will bring you to the man whom you seek, But he led them to Samaria*, the quite contrary way. But here is the difference between you and the prophet, that when he had misled them and brought them to Samaria, he did not detaine them as captives from their masters, but said, *set bread and water before them, that they may eat and drink, and go to their Masters.* But you do not so, but keep them in the net, in the which they are taken, that they cannot escape; but must joyne with

you

you against their Master: to whom they shall not return, but with defensive armes; such as are not shield and buckler, but pike, musket, and canon. I commend your policie herein, for you know that the King doth not thinke, that the common people did ever aime at the *contents* and *consequents* of the Covenant; and so doth not impute any *disloyaltie* unto them: and when he sees that you have them so close tyed unto you, they become your *buckler* and *defensive* armes; for whose sake he hath spared you, whom he thinkes to be heads of *a faction* against him, so that here *multitudo sociorum parit impunitatem criminum*. And to speak the truth, seeing he condemneth your *zeal to religion*, as if it *were rebellion* against him; and yet hath given you such way, without curbing your course in the beginning, we cannot but say, that his innate love to his ancient Kingdome, whereof he hath given plentifull testimonies, hath brought him to this strait, that he hath neglected his Fathers direction, which he was taught by *experience*, and which King *Charles* will teach his Son by a *double example*. The direction was this, *Si ab initio clementiam ostentes, crescet in immensum delinquentium numerus, crescet tui contemptus: & cùm punire volueris, major erit sontium quàm insontium numerus nec promptum erit discernere unde facere oporteat initium pœnæ, Atque ita multos perdes invitus, quos tempestivâ paucorum pœnâ servare potuisses. Tu meo ex exemplo potes hîc esse cautior, nam ego cum mansuetudine mea instituissem populum trahere ad legum obedientiam; contra accidit, ut omnia plena facta sint tumultibus. Ego verò pro mercede ne grates quidem retulerim.* If at the beginning thou shew clemency, the number of delinquents will greatly increase, and the contempt of thy selfe will increase: and when thou wilt punish delinquents, the number of the guiltie will be more then of the innocent, neither shall it be readie for thee to discerne, whereat thou must begin punishment. And so thou shalt destroy many against thy will, which thou mightest save by the timely punishment of a few. In this point thou mayst be more warie by my example: For when I had purposed by meekenesse, to draw the people to the obedience of the laws, the contrary happened; so that all was filled with uproares. And as for me, I got not so much as thanks for my reward. *Basilic. Doron. pag. 145*

But go you on, and that you may more and more perſwade them to adhere unto you, tell them as you doe, that if they ſhall come under the Kings power, he will utterly deſtroy them, and that his Proclamations and promiſes are not to be regarded, ſince in your judgement he hath broken the oath at his Coronation, when he ſware to God to defend his truth: but would now if you did not reſiſt him, deſtroy the religion, the laws and liberties of this Church and Kingdome, as your Proteſtations and Informations for war do fully ſhew.

It was alſo a notable Equivocation, whereby you thruſt the ſimple people from ſubſcribing the Kings Covenant, commanded by his Majeſtie to be ſubſcribed, as it was profeſſed in *anno* 1581. and not according to your new interpretation added unto it. For in the 1581. it was a Covenant drawne up at his Majeſties ſpeciall command, and by his *ſpeciall authority*, the oath and ſubſcription was preſcribed to his Subjects, and ſo they ſware according to the meaning of the King, that was the exacter of this Oath. So that while his Majeſtie requireth it now to be ſubſcribed, as it was profeſſed then, hee doth it in oppoſition to this preſent time, wherein you have put a new Commenter upon it, directly contrary to the meaning of King *Iames*, who firſt preſcribed it. And it's too evident that Ieſuitiſme and Puritaniſme were both odious to him, and that it was his chiefe labour (as hee ſayes himſelfe) to hold up that which you are caſting downe, ſo that one of you doth not erre, while you call him your enemie *in ſuperlativo, infeſtiſſimus hoſtis*. But you did hinder the ſubſcription by a moſt excellent equivocation, while you ſay, *That you would be guiltie of mocking of God, and take his name in vain: and as We are not to multiply miracles on Gods part; ſo ought we not to multiply oathes and covenants on our part, and thus to play with oathes, as children do with toyes.* Thus the people who were with-holden from the Covenant, thinke that all was true, which you ſaid, not obſerving that it was an Equivocation: and alſo a *piafraus*: for if they had but obſerved your practice, they would have ſeen it contrary to this reaſon of yours; for how oft have you ſworne and ſubſcribed your own covenant? At *Edenburgh* where you made it, it was ſworne and

Proteſt. Sep. 1638. Reaſ. 2.

and subscribed by you; when you came home to your Parishes, it was reiterated solemnly by you; when you went to other Parishes, you did, as good examples to them, renew it againe and againe, and thought it no *mocking of God, nor multiplying of oaths, or taking his name in vaine.*

But I observe another notable Equivocation, which is so profound in one part of it, that I think we must be your disciples to learne it: while you say, *The swearer is not bound to the meaning of the prescriber of the Oath, nor to his own meaning; but is obliged to the reality* rei juratæ. I am sorry that you were put to this strait, to finde out this evasion. The truth was (as I perceive) that your affrighting them *with mocking of God, and taking his name in vaine*, did not hinder, but many thousands did subscribe after the *Lord Commissioner*, and Lords of Counsel. And this oath being taken, as it was in the 1581. yeare of God, when King *Iames* exacted it, it is too evident a consequence, that all that have taken this oath, are so farre from abjuring Episcopacie, and the Articles of Perth, &c. that by the contrary, they are obliged to defend the same: So that they may say with King *Iames*, *Mihi precipuus labor est dejectos Episcopos restituere, & Puritanorum anarchian expugnare.* Now, though in your protestation against the subscription of it, you made it one of your reasons why you could not subscribe it, because it was to be exacted according to the meaning of the exacter, which is King *Charles*, Heire of his Fathers opinions, as well as of his Dominions: yet since it is subscribed by many, according to the meaning of the exacter, you remove that rub, by saying, that they are not bound to sweare and subscribe according to the meaning of the prescriber of the oath. This is well, for then, when any taketh an oath, he may sweare, not according to the exacters meaning, but according to his owne; and so none needs to know what we sweare.

Answer to the Marquesse of *Hamiltons* Declaration.

Protest. Sep. 1638.

But the subscribers will say, we took the oath according to the meaning of the *prescriber*, and both our meanings, both who did *exact* and *take* the oath, was, that Episcopacie and Perths Articles were not abjured. To this you answer, that they are not bound to take it according to either of their meanings,

nings, but according to the realitie *rei juratæ*. If it be so, neither the exacter, nor the taker of the oath did know what they sware and subscribed unto. If this be to sweare blinde obedience, I approve it, if not, I will be glad to be farther made perfect in equivocating: for I can finde no third, but either the oath must be taken according to the meaning of the *exacter*, or of the *taker*.

But I take your meaning to be, that that oath of the *Kings Covenant* ought to be taken, as we thought to have done with the *Oath of allegiance* taken by Romane Catholikes in England. The King with his Councell used all the wit and prudence that could be had, to cause them to take the oath without any *Equivocation*, or *mentall reservation*, and that they should take no *dispensation* from the Pope, for taking such an oath: so that in this case, it was made so cleare, that both the *prescriber* and the *taker* of the oath could not differ, but be of one mind. But our *Pascenius* did laugh this diligenee to scorne, and found out a prettie way to elude such an oath, by telling them, that if the Pope did dissolve that oath, and declare it unlawfull, they were no more tied to such an oath.

Pascen. Respon. ad Ep. Monitor. Iacob. Reg. tit. B. 2. 3.

Vide (inquit) in tanta astutia quanta sit simplicitas, juramentum tot circumstantiis connexuisse existimabat, ut salvâ conscientiâ, nullâ ratione à quoquam dissolvi possit. Sed videre non potuit, si pontifex juramentum dissolverit, omnes illius nexus, sive de fidelitate Regi præstanda, sive de dispensatione non admittenda, pariter dissolutos fore. Imò aliud dicam admirabilius, juramentum si injustum apertè declaretur, neminem obligat, sed ipso facto *nullum est. Regis verò juramentum injustum esse ab ipso ecclesiæ pastore sufficienter declaratum est. Vides jam in fumum abiisse illius obligationem, ut vinculum quod à tot sapientibus ferreum putabatur, minus sit quàm stramineum.* Behold (sayes he) how much simplicity is in so much subtilty; he thought to have bound this oath by so many circumstances, that it could be dissolved no manner of way by any man with a safe conscience. But he could not see, that, if the Pope should dissolve this oath, all the knots of it, whether it be of fidelity to be performed to the King, or of a dispensation not to be admitted, are both alike dissolved. Yea, I will tell another more

marvel-

marvellous thing, if it be openly declared that the oath is unjuſt, it doth oblige no man, but by the fact it ſelfe it is null. Now, this oath of the King is ſufficiently declared by the paſtor of the Church himſelfe to be unjuſt. Now thou ſees that the obligation of it is evaniſhed in ſmoake: ſo that, that bond, which by ſo many wiſemen was thought to be ſtrong as iron, is weaker than a rope of ſtraw.

Thus it was with your Covenant, King *Charles* was very carefull to have it ſubſcribed according to his Fathers meaning, who did preſcribe the oath *anno* 1581. and his owne meaning, which was the ſame with his Fathers, who approved *Epiſcopacie* and *Perths Articles*. So that all equivocation is here excluded: But (this *Paſcenius* trick makes all cleare) if *Dickſon* or *Henderſon*, &c. ſhall diſſolve this oath, and declare it unlawfull, it hath no force, as being not according to the *reality* of the things themſelves: and thus, are none more tied to the King by Covenant, but may break it as eaſily as *Sampſon* did his cords, and muſt run your courſe againſt his Majeſty. I might inſiſt on many inſtances to prove Equivocation amongſt you, if it were needfull, but I am confident you ſhall not be ſuch enemies to it in time to come.

Moreover, your *pia fraudes* have not a little advanced your courſes, for though the generall cauſe of all this uproare was pretended to be for defence of religion, lawes and liberties, yet (to ſpeake under the Roſe) it flowed from private cauſes and reſpects, for (not to ſpeak of the contempt of Monarchy, nor of private fretting againſt Soveraignty by malecontents) the courſe his Majeſty was taking with the tythes, to deliver the miniſtry, and meaner ſort of the Laitie from that which was counted bondage and ſlaverie, made many fret to ſee themſelves robbed of that clientely and dependance of the Clergie and Laitie, and of that power, command and ſuperiority, which by the tye of tythes they did enjoy. Some had their private quarrels againſt the Biſhops, many could not abide to ſee them preferred to be on his Majeſties Counſell, &c. And a great hatred was working againſt them, for being the chiefe inſtruments that the Miniſters maintenance was augmented, and many of the Tythes reſtored backe againe, XV.

which made many thinke that in the end all the tythes, and Church-lands would returne to the ancient owner, whereby many would be brought to a poore estate, if the tythes were taken from them, and some who have made Churches their habitation would not have a dwelling place at all; and some others being ambitious of preferment both in Church and Policie, were no small causes of all this uproare. Now howbeit, from those and such like other motives, this disorder hath come, yet its well dissembled by you, in taking this opportunitie, to work your private intended ends, by making the multitude believe that all is for defence of Religion, laws and liberties, which otherwise would be destroyed.

His Holines our Pope, did never laugh more heartily, than when it was told him, that you made the people believe that the book of Common Prayer was penned at Rome, and sent to the King, and that it was nothing but the masse turned into English; and that the King was a Papist, and intended to change the Religion; That your Bishops were Pensioners to the Pope, and that all, who would not subscribe your covenant, are Papists; truly he commended your policie, to catch children with wiles, and men with lies. The aspersions you have cast upon King, Bishops, and Anticovenanters will make you noble. It's a good policie still to complain of Court and State, and to prie into great mens lives, to picke out some fault, and to make faults where we finde none: still with *Absalom* saying, The men who have good and right causes, have no man to heare them, *Oh that I were made Judge in the land, that every man which hath any suit or cause, might come unto me, and I would doe him justice.* Thus the silly multitude will lightly apprehend that you are blameless, who doe so narrowly trie, and crie out against the faults of others, whom howbeit you do not wound, yet in the vulgar opinion you do greatly stain and blot them.

2 Sam. 15. 3. 4.

XVI. Finally, we have both suffered much of our enemies for our *practice against Kings and Princes*, in cutting them away that are enemies to the religion. We need not be ashamed to confesse, that the *armour* wherwith such kings are killed, are forged in *our shop*: you know that *Hacket* and *Coppinger* who

wrote

wrote to Scotland to *James Gibson*, that he with the advise of the brethren, might tell their opinion concerning the spirit that moved them, and the act that they had in hand to bee done, for the delivery of *T. Cartwright* out of prison, and killing of all their withstanders. That which *Raviliack* did *effectu*, was no more praise-worthy than that which they did *affectu*: all those our workes are not to be accounted points of *treason*, but only *sensible expressions* of our Heroicall zeal to the *defence of Religion*, which ought to be more deare to us, than Kings or Princes, father or mother, brother or sister, all those cords must bee broke, and bonds cast from us, when we see them to set themselves to take counsell against the Lords Annointed. Such men of courage who put their life in their hand and cut off such wicked men, ought to be so far from being counted traitors, that they should be rewarded for doing it, as your *Buchanan* sayes. *Knox* in his history of Scotland commends the privie murdering of the Cardinall of S. *Andrewes* perpetrated by Norman *Lesley* son to the Earle of *Rothsey*, and *James Melvin* cals it a godly fact, and propones it as an example to be followed by the posteritie.

In your Zions Plea, and other papers, you speak excellently of that Heroicall fact of *Felton* your Martyr, and pathetically exhort the nobles of the Land to follow his footsteps, saying; *God hath chalked out the way unto you, God having offered himself to guide you by the hand, in giving this first blow, will you not follow home? the sprinkling of the blood of the wolf, if we can follow the Lord in it may prove a meanes to save us. The counsel of Hushai to Absalon sorteth well with this businesse, that all Israel should be gathered from Dan to Beersheba, as the sand on the sea in number, who may with the ropes of their Prayers joyned* to the power of your hands, *draw the city of their Babel into the river of destruction, untill there be not one small stone found.* Du. Buck.

You have most zealously embraced this profitable exhortation: and albeit your intended worke tooke but small successe, yet let not this interruption bequench your zeale, nor cause your heroicall spirits to faile, but bee forward in this cause, and let all your words be spoken by Talents, that authority may see that you doe not feare it. Let our example

Payne Epist. to F.

encourage you; and your example encourage us. It was to this purpose manfully said by one of you. *Our zeale to Gods glory, our love to his Church, and the due planting of the same, in this horebeaded age, should be so warm, and stirring in us, as not to care what adventure we give, and what censure we abide, &c. The Iesuites and Seminaries their diabolicall boldnesse (he wrongs us in his epithet, seeing he followes our way) will cover our faces with shame.*

Its true indeed, so long as we are not able to resist, and make our party good by strength of hand, ther is a necessity that we must suffer, and like the poore man *we must use entreaty:* for its our wisdom to consider the times, when we may be forward, and when not. Hence it was that in the dayes of Queene *Elizabeth*, when your power was little, that your answer was humble: for when the State and Clergie of England charged your sort of men with *faction, sedition*, and *schisme*, and judged that if you were not curbed betimes, you would bring *desolation* on Church and Policy: your answer was mild (though it might seem to your adversaries mixt with passion, pride and Hypocrisie) while you said. *Peace was by those men kept inviolate, for which of them ever dealt disorderly, or tumultuously? who ever of them in word or deed gave out any just suspicion of unpeacable dealing? nay have they not in their ministery, in their examples, striven for peace more then any?* for this cause (as your *Buchan*, wel observeth with us) *Paul* writing to the *Romans* says, *Let every soule be subject to superiour powers.* *Paul* (sayes hee) *writes this in the infancie of the Church, there were but few Christians then, not many of them, rich or of abilitie, so as they were not ripe for such a purpose, as if a man should write to such Christians as are under the Turke, in substance poor, in courage feeble, in strength unarmed, in number few, and generally subject to all kind of injuries: would be not write as Paul did? So as the Apostle did respect the men hee wrote unto, and his words are not to be extended to the body, or people of a Common-wealth, or whole city.* And he tels us in this case, if *Paul* were alive and did see wicked Kings raigning in Christian Common-wealths, *Paul* would say, *That he accounted no such for Magistrates, hee would forbid all men for speaking unto them, and from keeping them*

Practice of Prelates.

Buch de jure reg. pag. 50.

Ibid. pag. 56.

Ibid. pag. 57.

them Company: he would leave them to their ſubjects to bee puniſhed: neither would he blame them, if they accounted no ſuch longer for their Kings. And as *Bellarm.* ſays, *Talis conſenſu omnium poteſt, imo debet privari ſuo dominio. Si hoc priſcis temporibus minus factum ſit, cauſa eſt, quia deerant vires.* Such a King by the conſent of all may, yea ought to be deprived of his dominion: if this in old times was not done, the cauſe was, becauſe they had no ſtrength. *Bel. lib. 3. de Pont. cap. 7*

But now the times are changed, *Hæc ætas alios mores poſtulat*, this age requireth other manners, ſpare not big words, *tell the head its ſick, preſſe the people to armes too, ſtrike the Baſilike veine, ſince nothing but that will cure the plurisie of your eſtate.* Your ſtrength is great, yea ſo great that you profeſſe your ſelves invincible, *if you keepe unitie and veritie*, that is the doctrine which I congratulate. Covenanters inform. for Defenſive. §. 2.

Certainly, you have an invincible Generall, your *head Leſley*. And as there is great union between us in doctrine and practice; ſo I perceive a great ſimilitude between both our Generals, our *Ignatius Loyola*, and your *Leſley*. As for their birth, I cannot compare them, for neither *Maphæus*, nor *Ribadeneira*, nor *Valderana*, nor *Becanus*, nor any that writes his life, tels us, who were his parents; ſo that it ſeems *pater Ignatii fuit dubii generis, & mater communis generis.* As for his life, we deny not the truth, for as our own writers ſay of his *childhood, ſatis conſtat eum in pueritiâ, profanos admodum hauſiſſe ſpiritus.* It is certain, that in his childhood he drew in very prophane ſpirits. And in *adoleſcentiâ, militiæ ac vanitati ſeſe dedit.* In his childhood, he gave himſelf to wars and vanity, being ready to ſerve any man for his pay, ſo that our *Ribadeneira* calleth him *Vanitatis vile mancipium*, A vile ſlave of vanity. *Maphæus in vita Ignat. lib. 1. cap. 2.* *Ribad. de vit. Ignat. lib. 1. c. 7.*

But at *Pompeiopolis* being couragiouſly fighting, his leg was ſore wounded, and it was good for him, for *accepto hoc luculento vulnere, ad Deum converſus eſt.* Having gotten this great wound, he was converted to God, and his leg was amended; but yet, *non nihil claudicavit, ſed honeſtè, & quod ambulandi moderatione tegeretur:* He halted a little, but decently, and which he might hide by the moderation of his walking, and become the founder and generall of our holy *Becan.* *Ribad. lib. 4. cap. 18.*

Society. All this hath hapned to your Generall, in his childhood, youth-hood, in his wound, in his halting, in his conversion, and becomming Generall of your holy Society. But from the halting of both our Generals, the *Anticovenanters* draw an ominous conclusion, that wee are like Israel in the daies of *Elias*, *halting betweene God and Baal, and running crooked courses*. But notwithstanding of our halting, they shall find that we can run, and give them matter enough to worke on. They have so sensibly found it so, in our Generall *Ignatius*, that all in our Church, who are not of our order, wish that he had never beene hurt in warre, that so he might have there remained, and never turned home, where in peace he doth more hurt, then he did in warres; for abroad (say they) hee fought against the common enemy, but at home, he raiseth and fostereth seditions and treasons against Princes. The same do many of you say of *Lesley*, and apply that to him, which our men speake of our *Loyola*.

Quam bello plus pace noces, & ad otia versus
Crudelis animum vertis ad insidias.
Scotia & in media conscripto milite regnas,
Diraq; (fraterno nomine) bella geris.

But I pray you, as we have followed our Generall *Ignatius* his command, by yeelding up our selves, our wils and judgements *cacâ obedientiâ*, as he did require; so do you with your Generall, in following his command and directions. And so much rather I require this of you, becaus I heare, there are *divisions among you, and partly I believe it, for there must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest*. But that you may amend this breach, consider wisely where the division is likeliest to bee, and prepare your salve for every mans sore, and your bait for every mans humour. If it be among the Nobilitie, then extoll and praise what they have done, tell, that all mens eyes are upon them, as the noble reformers of the Land; let them heare of the noble facts of their progenitors, commend perseverance, and shew them what cowardize is, and what infamie will follow to yeeld to their Prince. Put them in remembrance of that noble sentence of ours. *Si nobilis invasus, posset vitam servare fugiendo, non*

1 Cor. 11. 18.

Tolet. lib. 5. c. 6.

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tenetur (si inde infamiam contrahat) fugere, sed hostem occidere potest. If a nobleman being invaded, may save his life by flying, yet he is not bound to fly, if he contract infamie thereby, he is rather bound to kill his enemie, much lesse to yeeld. Let the women in the streets continue to prefer those young *Davids* ten times above the Prince, and still pray for them. And if there be any of the Nobilitie of greater worth, tell them, that the whole businesse depends upon them, and that you will doe all by their direction, and that they shall be made immortall, by recording their acts to posterity to come.

If you feare division in the ministery, it's easie to help that, keep those under who are not zealous in your cause: let them not be acquainted with your mysteries, nor be chosen Commissioners for assemblies: if there be any matter of importance to be commended to the people, send either conjunctly or severally, some zealous ministers to their pulpits, to rouze up the multitude, and put the like edge upon such cold-rife ministers, and if they become not more zealous, put them in feare of Deprivation.

If you feare any division among the Commons, it's likely that some of them have seene the Kings extraordinary favour toward them: but you ought to be carefull, that they see not the Kings Proclamations; and if any have seen them, let them be perswaded that his Majesties Proclamations have this only end, to divide them, and then to destroy them; and that all other faire promises shall have no reall performances. Be not you behind the King in your promises to them also, and howbeit you have an hundred thousand pound to take of them, yet be not suddaine, but by delaying, put them in hope that you will never exact it; For if you goe now to exact it, it will make them repine and grumble, and say, instead of *Salomons* easie yoke, we are oppressed with *Rehoboams* heavie burdens, and so make a rupture, and returne every man to his tent, and in the end submit themselves to their *Salomon* againe. And especially let the ruling Elders command their ruled Elders or ministers, to be diligent in season and out of season, to keepe the multitude in their zealous humour, for if they doe not unceassantly blow upon them, they will be like

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mare mortuum, and never be moved. Ceaſe not to poſſeſſe them with an evill opinion, of all that oppones themſelves to your courſes either by word or writing, make them believe that all, that writ againſt your confederacie, are unnaturall enemies to their Countrie, and that it is not againſt your faction which they doe, but againſt Church and Kingdome; and ſuffer no man to deny this to be a Nationall quarrell, or to call it a Faction, and all that refuſe to caſt in their lot with you, call them the curſed inhabitants of *Meroz*, that will not help you againſt the mightie.

And let all that follow their King, be called the *Kings faction*, according to the example of your progenitors, who called all that followed the Queen, *a faction*, which they would puniſh, as *Traitors*; *whenſoever God ſhould put the ſword of juſtice in their hands*, that is, when they ſhould find themſelves able to depoſe the Queen, (as they did) and repreſſe her Subjects. There is another thing which I deſire you to remember to try where thoſe miniſters, that have beene moſt oppoſite to our doctrines and practiſes, have had their reſidence in the miniſterie, that you may place able and zealous men for our cauſe in thoſe ſame places, to build up the people which they have deſtroyed. This worke is well begun by you, in bringing *Henderſon* from the Countrie, to the town of *Edinburgh*, *Dikſon* to *Glaſgow*, and *Rhetorfort* and *Blair* (who could not get libertie to vent our Doctrine elſewhere) to S. *Andrews*. and in particular let them bee carefull over the ſtudients in Colledges, *Quo ſemel eſt imbuta recens ſervabit odorem teſta diu.*

Knox. hiſt. of the Church of Scotland. pag. 364.

And as for thoſe, who like the men of Succoth, and the inhabitants of *Meroz*, refuſed to joyne with you, its well that you did not take the *thornes of the wilderneſſe*, *and bryers to teach them*, to beat downe their houſes, this may content them, albeit you reſtore not their goods, which you tooke while you plundered their houſes. Though they be buſie ſeeking it, yet you are not bound according to our rules, *Nullus tenetur cum vitæ periculo, aut famæ rem alterius reſtituere, ſunt enim vita & fama nobili oris ordinis quam res.* No man is bound with the danger of his life or good name to reſtore another man his goods againe, for life and a good name are of a more noble

Tolet. lib. 5. c. 37

noble order than goods are : for albeit there be no danger of your life to reſtore every man his own, yet your name is not ſafe, for if you reſtore to each man his goods againe, at leaſt it will be a *tacite* acknowledging of your roberie, and that is hurtſome to a good name. But ſome ſay, that it is a matter of conſcience to reſtore a mans goods againe, which is better then a good name, yea the way to recover a good name : but I refer this to the Schooles.

I have ſome matter of expoſtulation with you, but I will be loth to do it now, who have begun to congratulate with you for that ſweet *Harmonie* both in *opinions* and *reaſons* which is of late grown up amongſt us. Rome was not builded in one day, we muſt not looke that at the firſt you can receive all our doctrine, though in a ſhort time you have profited much. *Et vos converſi convertite fratres.* Maſter *Cant* could preach at *Glaſgow*, in what need England and Ireland ſtandeth of the Covenant, *where ſome have their eares cut for the defenſe of the truth, and are groaning under the tyranny of the whore of Babel.* And ſince ſo it is, you ſhould pitie the blindneſſe of thoſe people, who have not a learned man in England or Ireland to lead them, but the blind leadeth the blind; But I perceive you are not negligent herin, your Ironical preterition is moſt notable, while you ſay, *We do not meddle with the Kirks of England or Ireland, but recommend to them the patterne ſhown on the Mount.* But what patterne of the Mount is this I pray you? is it the patterne ſhewed by you on *Dunce hill*, called by your preachers *Mount Sion*, with an armie againſt the face of your King? if it be ſo, its a worthie patterne that requireth imitation. But if the Pattern on the mount, be the *Pattern of your diſcipline*, you do well herein, to imitate your progenitors, for they were deſirous to have Epiſcopacie throwne downe in England as you are now, or as wee are deſirous; for their pride is ſo great, that the leaſt of them ſayes, that they have no more dependance from the Pope, then he from them : that their calling and place is of as great power and authoritie, as his is within his *dioceſſe*, thus limiting the *univerſall* Biſhop, as if hee were onely a *Dioceſian*. Yea they are not aſhamed to ſay, that all the Popiſh biſhops are but *equivocally* called Biſhops, and *univocally* are the Popes

Anſwer to the Marqueſſe of *Hamiltons* declaration.

slaves: for as they have their power and authority from the Pope, so are they tyed to his obedience by oath. *Romano pontifici veram obedientiam spondeo ac juro*, I promise and sweare to give true obedience to the Pope of Rome. So that as the Bishops of *Apulia* said, so (say they) must all popish Bishops say, *Nos nihil aliud sumus præterquā creaturæ & mancipia pontificis*. Wee are no other thing but the creatures and slaves of the Pope. And since the Pope will be only universall Bishop, and all the rest depending on him, as their head, they tell our Bishops in the words of *Gregory*. *Si unus universalis est, restat ut vos Episcopi non sitis*. If there be one universal Bishop, it remaineth that you are no Bishops. Therefore I say, seeing your Bishops are greater enemies to our Hierarchie, then your selves are; you shall want no helpe that we can afford, to have them removed. I have seen your *Gibsons* letter to *Coppinger*, *Hackets* fellow labourer in England: Where he says, *The best of our Ministers are most carefull of your estate, and had sent for that effect, a Preacher of our Church this last Summer* (1590) *of purpose to confer with the best affected ministers of your Church, to lay down a plot, how our Church might best travell for your relefe*. But you do as wel to send libels and informations, as to go in your owne persons.

Form. Iura. Bulla Pii 4.

Carol. Molm. consil. super Concil. Triden. 21.

Greg. lib 7. ep. 70.

But before I proceed any further either in my congratulation or exhortation, I must relate unto you what I heard of that Anticovenanter, of whom I spake lately, when he read, *That you* did recommend to the Church of England and Ireland *the patterne on the mount*.

„This (sayes he) brings to my remembrance a prettie Apo„logie written by *Melanthon*. *Vulpecula cauda amissa, reliquis „vulpibus callidè persuasit, ut similiter & ipsa caudas resecarent, „ne sola turpis & deformis in suo genere videretur*. A fox having „lost her taile, craftily perswaded the other foxes, that they „would likewise cut off their tailes, lest she her selfe alone, „should seem the foul and deformed beast of al that kind. Thus „is their case who recommend their pattern to others. But cer„tainly, while they thus labour to remove *episcopacy*, as unlaw„full, and set up a *new discipline* as the only lawfull, in Christs „Church, they do differ as much from their first Reformers, „as wisemen do from mad-men. For it is certaine, that even

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„ *Calvin* who first invented this discipline, did it not because
„ he judged *Episcopacie* antichristian, or unlawfull, much lesse
„ did he recommend *his discipline* as a pattern to others: but it
„ was only meere necessity which moved him, for if those
„ who were bishops at the *Reformation* would have forsaken
„ the Pope *as their head*, and embraced the *reformed Religion*,
„ their *calling* had never beene called in question, as appeareth
„ by the words of *Calvin* to Cardinall *Sadolete*. *Talem nobis*
„ *hierarchiam si exhibeant, in qua sic emineant Episcopi, ut* *Calvin. Epist. ad*
„ *Christo subesse non recusent, ut ab illo tanquam unico capite pen-* *Card. Sadolet.*
„ *deant, & ad ipsum referantur: in qua sic inter se fraternam so-*
„ *cietatem colant, ut non alio modo, quam ejus veritati sint colli-*
„ *gati, tum vero, nullo non anathemate dignos fatear, si qui erunt,*
„ *qui non eam reverenter, summaq; obedientia observent.* If they
„ doe bring unto us such an *Hierarchie*, wherein the Bishops
„ shall so be preferred, that they refuse not to submit themselvs
„ to Christ, that they also depend upon him as their onely
„ head, and have their relation to him, in which Hierarchie
„ they may so keepe brotherly societie among themselves, that
„ they bee not otherwayes knit together, but by his truth:
„ then surely if there shall be any, that shall nor submit them-
„ selves to that *Hierarchie reverently*, and with the greatest *o-*
„ *bedience* that may bee, I confesse there is no kinde of curse
„ whereof they are not worthie. A sore sentence for a covenan-
„ ter. *Beza* likewise himselfe hearing that some did offend at
„ the *innovation of discipline* (which necessity put upon them)
„ and thought that he and his colleagues did set out the same
„ as a patterne for other Churches, to follow, was not a little
„ displeased, and told that it was never their intention to pre-
„ scribe such a discipline, where the old might be kept, hee
„ wisheth them to keepe it still. *Fruantur igitur illo qui volent* *Beza de grad.*
„ *& poterunt.* Therefore let them enjoy Episcopal government *minist. cap. 25.*
„ who desire and may do it: and sayes in that same place, *Ab-*
„ *sit ut hunc ordinem temerè aut superbè reprehendam.* God forbid
„ that I should rashly or proudly reprove that order, and ther-
„ fore in the 21. chap. of the cited booke, having spoken of
„ the tyranny of the *Popish Bishops* did hinder the reformati-
„ on, he tels us, that he doth neither mean *Protestant Bishops*,
„ nor yet set forth their discipline, as a *Pattern* to be followed.

„ *Neq; tamen hujus tyrannidis omnes archiepiſcopos, ſeu epiſcopos*
„ *hodie vocatos accuſamus: quæ fuerit enim hæc arrogantia? imò*
„ *cunctos, ſic hodie appellatos (modo ſanctiſſimorum illorum E-*
„ *piſcoporum exemplum imitentur, & tam miſere deformatam do-*
„ *mum Dei, ex verbi divini regula inſtaurent) ut eccleſiæ Chri-*
„ *ſtianæ fidos paſtores, cur non agnoſcamus, & omni reverentiâ*
„ *proſequamur? nedum ut (quod falſiſſimè & impudentiſſimè*
„ *nonnulli nobis objiciunt) cuipiam uſpiam eccleſiæ ſequendum*
„ *noſtrum peculiare exemplum præſcribamus* And yet wee
„ doe not accuſe all, that are this day called Archbiſhops or
„ Biſhops, of this tyrannie: for what arrogancie were
„ that? yea, why ſhould we not acknowledge, and honour
„ withall reverence, all that are this day ſo called, as the
„ faithfull paſtours of the Chriſtian Church: ſo being they
„ would imitate the example of thoſe moſt holy Biſhops in
„ the primitive Church, and reform by the rule of Gods word
„ the deformed houſe of God? much leſſe that we ſhould pre-
„ ſcribe to any Church in any place *our peculiar example to bee*
„ *followed*, which moſt falſly, and moſt ſhameleſly ſome object
„ unto us. So the authors of the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion declare
Auguſtan. Confeſſ. Artic. 14. „ ingenuouſly, that it was not any diſlike at *Epiſcopall govern-*
„ *ment*, but the cruelty of *Popiſh Biſhops*, who did by all means
„ hinder the reformation of religion, which did diſſolve that
„ government and Canonicall policie, *quam magnopere cupie-*
„ *bamus conſervare*, which we earneſtly deſired to preſerve.
„ And therefore, ſeeing *popiſh Biſhops* were in place then, and
„ *Proteſtant Biſhops* could not be ſet in their place, they decla-
„ red to the world in their confeſſion, that (notwithſtanding
„ it was removed) they did approve it, and were ſo free from
„ having the fault imputed to them, that it did not remaine
„ among them; that they were moſt willing it ſhould bee
Ibidem. „ continued, if thoſe *Popiſh Biſhops* would forbeare their per-
„ ſecution, and turne Proteſtants, and ſtudie to advance the
„ *Reformation*. For they ſay, *Hic iterum teſtatum volumus, nos*
„ *libenter conſervaturos eſſe Eccleſiaſticam & canonicam poli-*
„ *tiam, ſi modo Epiſcopi deſinant in noſtras Eccleſias ſævire,*
„ *Hæc noſtra voluntas, & coram Deo, & apud omnes gentes*
„ *ad omnem poſteritatem excuſabit nos, ne nobis imputari poſſit,*
„ *quod epiſcoporum authoritas labefactetur*. Here againe, we

„ will have it teſtified, that we ſhall willingly keep ſtill the
„ Eccleſiaſticall and Canonicall policie, if ſo bee the Biſhops
„ will forbeare to rage againſt our Churches. This is our will,
„ and it ſhall excuſe us before God, among all Nations to all
„ poſterity, that it cannot be imputed to us, that the authority
„ of Biſhops is decayed. And againe, in that ſame confeſſion *Ibid de poteſt. Eccleſ.*
„ they ſay, *Sæpe jam teſtati ſumus, nos non ſolùm poteſtatem Ec-*
„ *cleſiaſticam quæ in Evangelio inſtituta eſt, ſummâ pietate ve-*
„ *nerari, ſed etiam Eccleſiaſticam politiam, & gradus in Eccleſia*
„ *magnopere probare, & quantum in nobis eſt conſervare cupere:*
„ *non detractamus authoritatem Epiſcoporum, modò non cogant*
„ *facere contra mandatum Dei. Hæc voluntas liberabit nos coram*
„ *Deo, & judicio univerſæ poſteritatis, ne judicemur rei hujus*
„ *ſchiſmatis, quod initio excitatum eſt injuſtâ damnatione doctri-*
„ *næ Lutheri.* We have alreadie oftimes teſtified, that we, not
„ only with the greateſt piety that can be, do reverence that
„ Eccleſiaſticall power inſtituted in the Goſpell, but alſo do
„ very much approve the *Eccleſiaſticall policy, and degrees in*
„ *the Church*, and deſire to keep it as much as we can: We do
„ not refuſe the *authority* of Biſhops, if ſo bee they doe not
„ compell us to do againſt the Command of God. This our
„ will ſhall deliver us before God, and in the judgement of
„ all our poſteritie, that wee bee not judged guilty of that
„ *Schiſme*, which at the beginning was raiſed by the unjuſt
„ condemning of the Doctrine of *Luther*. O how farre doe
„ thoſe Covenanters differ from thoſe Reformers! How can
„ they cleare themſelves before God, the Reformed Churches,
„ and the ages to come, who have made this great *Schiſme*?
„ They not onely have *condemned*, that which all reformed
„ Churches do *commend*, but alſo ſtudie to hatch the cockatrice
„ egge, and bring forth ſerpents, *Schiſmes* and *Rebellions* in
„ other calme Churches, who live at peace. Look how farre
„ theſe Reformers did tender Epiſcopacie, as much doe theſe
„ Covenanters hate it: It is not ſufficient to them, to have
„ thruſt from them without any cauſe their Biſhops, (except
„ it be that the Biſhops have carried themſelves to them, as
„ *David* did to *Adonijah*. *And his father did not diſpleaſe him at* 1 King. 1. 6.
„ *any time, in ſaying, Why haſt thou done ſo?* by which too gen-
„ tle dealing, they gave them occaſion to riſe up againſt them)

„ but they themselves must be ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοποι, busie Bishops in
„ another mans Diocesse; yea, be *universall Bishops*, within the
„ Kings Dominions, by their senslesse (yet malicious) libels
„ and letters, to his Majesties good subjects in *England* and
„ *Ireland*, labouring to produce the like *disorders* among them,
„ that they should not remaine alone filthy and deformed in
„ the Church of God. Howbeit, all good and learned men (e-
„ ven among those, who have an *Episcopall government*) doe
„ declare their dutifull and reverent respects to Bishops; yet,
„ for the accomplishing of their bad ends, it hath been their
„ chief labour, first and last, to make Bishops most odious and
„ contemptible to all men.

„ Thus *Cant* at *Glasgow* in his Sermon (because the Bishop
„ of *Glasgow* did dwell in the Castle, neere to the Cathedrall
„ Church) told the people, that *Satan had his dwelling among*
„ *them, and Antichrist had a nest among them: and cried, pull*
„ *down, pull down Antichrists nest*, with many other expressi-
„ ons, more worthy of the *speaker*, than of the *Hearers*; there
„ wanted nothing to draw the multitude to the perpetrating
„ of a mischief against that old reverend Father, but that God
„ suffered not any to be a head to the furious multitude.

„ Thus they have too obsequiously observed the direction
„ of their book entituled, *Sions Plea:* Where it's said, *Mini-*
„ *sters and Magistrates must labour, and cause others to labour for*
„ *an holy hatred of Prelates, and their brethren, with an holy ha-*
„ *tred, to dash the braines of the Babylonish Prelacie against the*
„ *stones*. And according *to Luke* 19. 27. *But those mine enemies,*
„ *that would not that I should raigne over them, bring hither, and*
„ *slay them before me. And strike that Hazael in the fifth rib, yea,*
„ *if father or mother stand in the way, away with them. Strike the*
„ *Basilike veine, for nothing but this will cure the plurisie of this*
„ *our state*. This is a notable policie, and as well learned by
„ the Covenanters, as taught by their masters, and have made
„ such proficiencie herein, that they stand in more need of a
„ *bridle*, than of a *spurre*; they have by lies and calumnies with
„ the changeable multitude so prevailed, that they have not so
„ much as any being among them, but as they say, *Have swept*
„ *the dirt and dust out of Gods house, and sent them to the land of*
„ *Nod*. But yet, Thanks be to God, notwithstanding of

Sions Plea, pag. 196.

„ their

„ their throwing ſtones at them, they have not daſht their
„ brains againſt the ſtones, and for *Hacaels* firſt rib, they have
„ only ſmote a Biſhops coach-horſe. And as for this *Baſilike*
„ *veine*, which they would have ſtricken, it's of a higher na-
„ ture than the killing of Biſhops; for its borrowed from
„ the Ieſuites, who by that phraſe, underſtand the killing of *Carol. Scriban.*
„ Kings and Princes: wherefore one of them ſaid, *Erratum*
„ *valde fuiſſe in feſto Bartholomæi, quòd ſecta non fuerit vena*
„ *Baſilica, id eſt, quòd parcitum fuit regi Navarræ, & principi*
„ *Condenſi.* It was a great fault, that in the feaſt of *Bartholomew*
„ the Baſilike veine was not ſtricken, that is to ſay, that the
„ King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Condie* was let alone:
„ But they have done as much as they can, to ſtrike at this
„ Baſilike veine through the Biſhops ſides. For I remember,
„ when at the beginning of theſe diſorders many did ask, why
„ they did make the Biſhops their adverſaries, and complain
„ upon them, ſince they did never require any thing, but by
„ warrant of his Majeſties authority, whom they ought to o-
„ bey; it was uſually anſwered, *Some man muſt be whipped, and*
„ *rather the Biſhops, than any*, God knowes how foule a Com-
„ menter this might ſuffer. And as for thoſe calumnies, filthy
„ ballads, which theſe men ſet out to the diſgrace of them-
„ ſelvs, rather than of thoſe whom they hate; they deſerve no
„ other anſwer, than that of the Prophet. *The vile perſon will* *Eſay 32. 6.*
„ *work villany, and his heart will worke iniquitie, to practiſe hypo-*
„ *criſie, and to utter errour againſt the Lord, &c.* And in parti-
„ cular, this ſentence doth juſtly appertaine to that vile per-
„ ſon, *Alexander Sempill*, who for whoredome, drunkenneſſe,
„ and all kinde of licentiouſneſſe, hath not a ſecond in *Scot-*
„ *land, and now by meanes of whoriſh women, is brought to a piece* *Prov. 6. 16.*
„ *of bread*, and extreme povertie, having nothing left but a de-
„ crepit body, an intoxicate brain, and railing tongue: ſo that
„ I wonder, who could be ſo baſe, as to lend him their hand to
„ write for him that fooliſh, (but ſeditious) ballad, called the
„ *Biſhops bridles*. And I marvell more, that the Covenanters
„ have made this *pattern of wickedneſſe*, to be their fitteſt man
„ to preſent to *England* and *Ireland*, their *pattern on the mount*:
„ for they print nothing there now without the approbation
„ of one *Iohnſon*, Clerke of their aſſemblies. This *AS* or himſelfe *AS.* *So he prints*

„ *Alexander*

„ *Alexander Sempill* is ſo beaſtly and apiſh, that he can finde
„ no other *matter* or *ſubject* for his ballad, but to allude to one
„ *Rew's* preaching on *Balaams* aſſe, which they make to be the
„ Church of *Scotland*, that have thrown off the Biſhops, their
„ riders: and therefore muſt ſell their bridles. This Preacher
„ *Rew*, did not put ſhame enough upon that Church, but this
„ *AS* muſt ſecond him, and continue its ſhame. That of the
„ Wiſeman is fit for them, *A whip for the horſe, a bridle for the*
Prov. 26. 3. „ *Aſſe, and a rod for the fooles back.*

„ But ſince they delight in this compariſon, and will have
„ their Church to be an Aſſe, and the Biſhops their riders; I
„ ſhall not diſpleaſe them ſo to call it. But let them remember
„ that the Biſhops rode upon this Aſſe meekly, dealing with
1 Cor. 4. 21. „ them, *not with the rod, but in love, with the ſpirit of meekneſſe.*
„ But the lay-Biſhops have throwne them off, and now ride
„ ſo furiouſly like *Iehu*, that we complaine with the Pſalmiſt.
„ *a Thou haſt cauſed men to ride over our heads, we went through*
a Pſalm 66 11 „ *fire and water:* they *b drive and go forward, and ſlacke not their*
b 2 King. 4 24 „ *riding*, they ſtudie to make her *a wild Aſſe uſed to the wilder-*
c Ier. 2. 24. „ *neſſe, that ſnuffeth up the winde at her pleaſure*, and is ſo farre
„ drawn away in the wilderneſſe, that his Majeſty hath ta-
„ ken more paines to finde her out, and bring her from her
„ wandering, than *Saul did in ſeeking his fathers Aſſes*, hee
1 Sam. 9. 3. „ ſought his fathers aſſes but three days, but his Majeſtie hath
„ ſought this aſſe three yeares. There is no queſtion but ſhee
„ would be found and returne, for the *Aſſe knowes her maſters*
„ *crib:* but her riders will not ſuffer her, perſwading her that
Eſay 1. 3. „ his Majeſtie will miſerably handle her: though they aſſured-
„ ly know themſelvs, that his Majeſty will do no more harm
„ to her, than the Lion did to the aſſe, whereon the ſeduced
„ Prophet rode, *the Lion did not teare the Aſſe*, the Scripture
1 King. 13. 28. „ ſayes, but killed the ſeduced rider. This is the only feare
„ they have, not for the aſſe, but for the riders, who have juſtly
„ provoked the *Lions wrath, as the meſſenger of death*, and to
„ be *buried with the buriall of an aſs, drawn and caſt forth beyond*
Ier. 22. 19. „ *the gates of Ieruſalem.* Here the Anticovenanter would
have proceeded, but I not being deſirous to trouble my ſelf in
diſpute with him, cut him off with your words. The Cove-
nanters are exhorted not *to be moved with remonſtrances, were*

they

they never ſo ſpecious, but ſubmit themſelves obediently to follow their leaders, whom God at this time hath largely furniſhed with courage and counſell, for the good of his Kirke and Kingdome. But he anſwered me, *The leaders of this people cauſe them to erre, and they that are led of them, are deſtroyed.* Covenanters inform. for Defenſive. §. 4. Eſay 9. 16.

But leaving him, I returne to my exhortation. If you cannot perſwade men to *your patterne on the mount*, at leaſt labour to poſſeſſe them with the opinions and doctrines, which you have received of us. Eſpecially this is the duty of *Blair* and *Livingſton*, to water the good ſeed which they have ſown in ſome of the hearts of ſome of your countrey-men in the North part of Ireland: and by their frequent exhortations and letters, to perſwade them to grow, and be fruitfull in thoſe matters. Eſpecially let them, by *feareſull threatnings* of Gods judgements, affright them from taking that *unlawfull oath* which eſtabliſheth the Kings *Supremacie*, and is urged by my *Lord Deputy*, (to whom, I confeſſe, his Maſters honour is more deare, than the Apple of his eye) ſo *violently*, that he will ſuffer no man to vilipend it, but will have them ſweare ſuch an oath, that they ſhall never *take armes againſt their King, nor proteſt againſt him, but to obey his royall commands*. Whereby thus violently he hath put your covenant out of credit among the Scots there, except you provide ſome remedy.

I heare that not only *Blair* and *Livingſton*, but that *Rhetorfort*, and *Dickſon* alſo, have lent their helping hand, and have written a learned refutation of that *Oath* to be taken by the Scots there. I am ſorry that I did not ſee it, that I might have increaſed my congratulation. Did you ever ſee the two *Apoſtolike briefes*, which our holy Father *Paulus* 5. ſent to the Catholikes in England, that were urged with the *ſame Oath*, that is preſſed upon your brethren now? Or did you ever read *Bellarmines* letter to *Blakwell*? if you did, they have helped you well in that matter, I am ſure. *Becanus* tels us the ſumme of all which the Pope and Cardinall did write. *Uterque negat ſalvâ conſcientiâ præſtari poſſe, hoc juramentum à rege propoſitum, quia abnegarent fidem Catholicam.* They both deny, that that oath preſcribed by the King, can be taken with a ſafe conſcience, becauſe they would deny the Catholike Becan. diſſid. Angl.

Faith. They say, you say the same, only you add many fearefull judgements upon both the *exacter* and *takers* of the same. And therefore you may say of them that take this oath, as *Becanus* doth, *Hoc faciunt ad extremam pacem & politiam conservandam, quæ pluris ab illis, quam fides & religio æstimatur, ideòque politici potiùs, quàm Christiani appellandi sunt.* They do this that they may preserve outward peace, which they esteeme more than of Faith and Religion; and therefore they ought rather to be called *politicians* than *Christians*. For no man will grant the Kings *Supremacy*, *excepto Sacellano. & quibusdam aliis adulatoribus regiis.* Except the Kings Chaplain, (Bishop *Andrewes*) and some other *Court parasites*. And here by the way I must tell you a notable untruth of that *Bishop Andrews*, in his dispute against *Bellarmine*: he holds that the *Puritans* do willingly take the oath of *Supremacy*. But albeit hee was πεντέγλωσσος, having five tongues, yet with none of his five tongues could he speake true in this, as our *Becanus* proveth from no lesse than the testimonie of his own Master K. *James*, in his *Basil. Doron*. But I find one *Richardus Thomsonus in Elencho refutationis Torturæ Torti*, defending *Andrews*, and reconciling him with his master, by telling that the King spake of Scots Puritans, and the Bishop of English Puritans. Whether this may satisfie or not, I leave it to a farther inquiry.

Becan refut. Torturæ Torti. cap. 1 parad. 1.

If the forlorn brother of our societie *Abernethie* hath done our Church any service among you, in the farthering and promoving this your happy *return* to us; he hath so wel deserved that there is hope for him to be received of us again. Howbeit his crimes were so ugly, that we did exclude him from our Church and orders: *yet sufficient to this man is the punishment inflicted upon him by many*, For he hath reconciled himselfe (as the people of *Gath* feared *David* would doe) with your *heads* and *hearts*: in enlightning your braine with the knowledge, & your hearts with the love of many principall points of our doctrine. Exhort him to continue unto the end. *I endeavoured my selfe to have come unto you, I desired to see you earnestly, and would have come unto you once and again, but Satan hindered me.*

2 Cor. 2. 6.

1 Thes. 2. 17.

Though in this my *Congratulatorie Epistle*, I have sometimes inserted my *counsell* and *exhortation* unto you, let not this displease you, as if I thought you deficient herein, or

that

that you had need of ſpurs, who run with born-down-head. For all my exhortations are nothing elſe, but a pleaſant repetition of your doings, and a ſympathizing expreſſion of our conjunct approbation thereof. So that my *recommendation* of that to your practice, which you are doing, is ſo far from inſimulating you of negligence, that it is rather a *commendation* of your actions, according to that of the Poet.

Qui monet ut facias, quod jam facis, ipſe menendo
Laudat; & hortatu comprobat ipſe ſuo.

Salute all our friends, and eſpecially at your night-meetings for devotion, ſalute the ſiſters with a holy kiſſe. To whom you doe but your duty when you acknowledge your cauſe much obliged unto them, and that in thoſe your *Eſters* and *Iudiths* your worke had but a ſmall beginning: and when men durſt not reſiſt the beginnings, it's wiſely obſerved by you, that *God moved the ſpirit of thoſe holy women to ſcourge the buyers and ſellers out of Gods houſe, and not to ſuffer the ſame to be polluted with that foule booke of Common Prayer*. Thoſe holy Matrons who waſte themſelvs with *faſting*, have deſerved ſo well at your hands, that you ſhould exhort them (as *Paul* did *Timothy*) *to take a little wine to comfort them:* and to encourage them to proceed zealouſly in your cauſe, for they are the weaker veſſels, and wine will ſtrengthen them. Read 1 *Eſdr.* chap. 3. v. 21. Where it is ſaid thus, *Wine is exceeding ſtrong, it makes every heart rich, ſo that a man remembreth neither King nor Governour, and it maketh to ſpeake all things by talents. And when they are in their cups, they forget their love both to friends and brethren, and a little after draw out ſwords, &c.* Albeit this be a paſſage out of *Apocrypha*, yet your practice ſays it is not falſe.

Our women here cary a ſiniſtrous opinion of your women, whom they call *virago's* and *monſters* of women, a diſgrace to their ſex, man-like-women, and a new kind of *Hermaphrodits*; becauſe of their violent and turbulent carriage (as they cal it) in abuſing all men that are contrary minded, they ſay,

Non metuunt leges, ſed cedit viribus æquum,
Quàmque lupi ſævæ plus feritatis habent.

That is, they feare no Laws, but equitie giveth place to force, and they have more ſalvage crueltie in them than the very wolves. But our Ladies are miſtaken, not knowing that

this proceeds from Zeal. *Impetus hic, sacra femina mentis habe* This violence of theirs hath the seeds of a holy minde: And they being free citizens, ought to have full freedome: their tongues are their owne, what Lord can them controll? If *Tyberius* when he was railed upon in the city, tooke it patiently, saying, *In libera civitate oportet linguam esse liberam.* Why should not *free Subjects* in a *free* kingdome, have *free* tongues, and *free* hands too? especially of *Women*, when religion is in question. *Guilielmus Postellus* set out a book, which he entituled: *Of the victory of women.* I would have the like done by some of you, especially by him, who gave his ghostly blessing to those *manfull* women (who shew their valour against their adversaries, in beating them and their books out of Gods house) *My blessing light upon you all my deare Birds all.* Break not off your nocturnall devotions, and assembling together for the better, and not for the worse. But doe it more secretly than *Andrew Lesley*, of whom they say, that hee forsooke *Ireland* to go to the *Covenant*, the first fruits whereof was, to forsake *his wife*, to joyne himselfe with *an harlot*. The good old Matron of the holy Sisters of *Edinburgh*, did more cunningly cover her daughters infirmity of the flesh, who (as she said to her sisters at their meetings) had fallen in a *holy fornication* with a brother, not out of *Lust*, but *Love*: and therefore decreed, that she should not confesse it before the congregation, lest the *Gospell should be scandalized, and that it was better to fall in the hands of God, by swearing that she did not know the man, than to fall in the hands of men, by confessing her carnall fact.*

R.A.

Tolet lib. 3. cap. 9 We say well to this purpose, *Mentiri in confessione, non semper est peccatum mortale.* To lie in confession, is not ever a mortall sin: but it was a pitie, that shortly after she had sworne, her swelling belly belied her; and yet, here the *shame* and *scandall* of your devout profession was more than your sin; for that kind of sin is but a *weaknesse* and *infirmity*, and if it be acted for *good ends* and *intentions*, it is no sin at all. Therfore, it's well said by

Idem lib. cap. 13 a father of our Society. *Si quis pollutionem desideraret ob bonum finem, scilicet sanitatem, vel ad levandas tentationes quibus interdiu afflictur, non est peccatum.* If any desire, &c.
for a good end, to wit, for *their health*; or to put away the *tentations*, wherewith they are troubled all the day long, it's

not

not a sin. And therefore it's thought, when those holy Sisters are longest out at their night-devotions, they are much amended in their health the next day. And we do also hold, * *Adulterium inter minora crimina censendum esse*, that Adulterie is to be esteemed among the smaller crimes; † *& esse aliquam honestam fornicationem*, and that there is some *honest fornication*. Or (as that Matron called it) *holy fornication*.

* *De judiciis l. 2 Decret. 6. Cap. 7*
† *Caus. 32. q. v. 1 Cap. Hac ratione.*

But this is very ominous which I heare, that many husbands will not suffer their wives to frequent those night-meetings as they were wont to do. That is a fearefull presage, that that *order* and *societie* shall be cryed down, except they get it confirmed by assembly. For we had a Societie of Sisters called, *Congregatio Iesuitissarum*, suppressed by our holy Father Pope *Vrban* the 8. anno 1631. *Quia novum ordinem instituerunt assumpto Jesuitissarum nomine,---quæ per multa opera sexus, ingenii imbecillitati, & modestiæ muliebri, virginali præsertim pudori minimè convenientia, attentarunt & exercuerunt.* Because they did institute a new order, assuming the name of Iesuitisses, who have attempted and exercised many works, which do not become the weaknes of their sex and ingenie, nor the modestie of women, and especially most unbeseeming virginall shamefastnes. The like case may befall your societie, if it be not prevented; if your *Leckie* and his *Collegues* be not authorized, it's to be feared that the societie of those Sisters shall get a down-fall.

Bull. Vrban. Papæ 8. Romæ edita. 1631.

I have heard of the great controversie betweene him and some ministers of *Sterling shire*, and that the matter was debated in your assemblie, but what was done, I was not fully informed; only I heard of your moderation, that you thought it not fit, to discharge his new *societie* by *act* of assembly, but by way of *counsell*, but he rejects your counsell, and though hee hath not an *ordinary calling*, yet he tels that he hath an *extraordinary calling* from God, and bids you, *behold it in the fruits of his labours*.

But I am most of all affraid for our selvs, though we have an ordinary calling and authority for our *order*. We are so hated both by friend and foe, at home and abroad, that wee are daily perplexed, especially since the adnulling of the *Jesuitissaes* order: upon which some Poet (by way of pro-

pheſie, as is thought) made thoſe verſes, with a *fiat*.

Fœmineus ſexus ſociis immixtus Iëſu
Tranſcendit ſexus munia fœminei.
Non tulit hanc labem VRBANI *vigilantia Papa,*
Suppreſſit Socias, mox Socioſq; premet.

We have ſuffered already great hurt in divers places, being hunted to and fro, as if we were Malefactors. And I doubt not but you know how weake we are in *France*, we dare not deny the King of *France* his *Supremacie*, and muſt acknowledge his Dominion to be independent, in reſpect of men, and that the King holds his kingdome by vertue of, *Per me reges regnant*, *by me Kings raigne*. The Doctors of the Vniverſitie of *Paris* *have done us much evill, the Lord reward them according to their* *workes*. They have condemned ſome of the workes of our Father *Becanus* in their Vniverſities, and have publiſhed the ſame to the world, whether the Pope would or no; and are alſo become *Court-Paraſites*. And their chiefe labour is by their doctrine in contradiction to you and us, to corrupt all eſpecially Noblemens children, that come to their Vniverſities: and at leaſt once a yeare, make every one of them under their hands, to profeſſe the Kings independent power and authority. Therefore now our holy *League* is wholly dead, *and death* *feeds upon it in the grave*, and we are become vile, and herein are turned *Saduceans*, to deny the *reſurrection* of our holy *League*, or any ſuch *inſurrection*, ſo long as ſuch doctors (as the *Sorboniſts*) ſhall thus infect the land, and make noble and ignoble ſuch Court Paraſites. But your caſe is far better than ours at this time: for you have put away from your Vniverſities ſuch as withſtood you, and have placed ſuch men in your Vniverſities of *Glaſgow* and S. *Andrewes* and *Edenburgh*, who will cauſe the ſchollers to drink ſuch a full draught of our doctrine, that they ſhall vomit out all which your adverſaries taught them. We are not ſo happie, our enemies prevaile daily againſt us. But yours are dying, eſpecially the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrewes*, to whom we wiſhed no better death, nor more honourable buriall, then that Martyr and brother of our Societie *Iohn Ogleby* got, whom he cauſed to be hanged at the Croſſe of *Glaſgow*, becauſe he ſtood to the defence of our doctrine, which he brought within the compaſſe of *Treaſon*, by the lawes of your

Prov. 8. 15.

2 Tim. 4. 14.

Pſal. 49. 14.

your kingdom, which I pray you to abrogate. D. *Baron* that great enemie of ours, is also dead (as they say) in persecution. At this we do both rejoyce, as if we had found a great spoyle.

We had also great credit (according to our hearts desire) at *Constantinople* and among the *Galatians*, and divers parts in the East, but by the meanes of the King of great *Britaine*, &c. his ambassador, and *Cyrillus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, (who is of the Religion of the Church of England, and disclaims the Popes jurisdiction, even as the Bishops of England do.) We are all banished the Turks bounds, and a shipfull of us was sent home to *Italy* from *Constantinople*. Since we cannot get libertie to remain in the East, we purpose to come to you in the West, where there is neither Patriarch nor Bishop to trouble us, as *Cyrillus* did at *Constantinople*.

But if King *Charls* follow the direction of his Father King *James our common enemy*, your case will bee little better then ours was at *Constantinople*. For after he hath directed his son to beware of *Puritans, as most pestilent fellowes, both in Church and policie, whom neither the Kings favours and bountie*, nor their own promises and oaths can make faithfull and loyall, but being *above measure arrogant*, they belch out nothing but *calumnies and seditions*, and contrary to the word of God follow their own *dreames and conceits*, as the only rule of their conscience, he sayes most pathetically. *Testor illum magnum Deum (nec testamentum condenti fas est mentiri) nunquam inter montanos aut limitaneos nostros latrones, majorem ingratitudinem aut perfidiam reperiri posse, quam inter hos phanaticos nebulones: nec patere, si pacate vivere decreveris, ut hi eadem tecum patria fruantur, nisi forte patientiæ experiendæ ergo, ut Socrates vixit cum Xantippe.* I take the great God to witnesse, as if I were making my testament (and it is not lawfull for him that maketh a testament to lie) that there can never be more unthankfulnesse, or perfidiousnesse found among our High-land and bordering robbers, then among those brain-sick villains. Neither doe thou suffer them to enjoy that same countrey with thee, if thou purpose to live peaceably, unlesse perchance, for the exercise of thy patience, as *Socrates* lived with *Xantippe*.

Basilic. Doron. pag. 148.

This is a dreadfull advice, and our case is so miserable, that it is our lot and destinie to be like *Ishmael the wild man*, *whose hands*

[illegible] against every man, and every mans hands against him. But let us not be dismaied, nor our hearts melt, nor our hands be faint; but let us joyne hand in hand together, (*Virtus unita fortior*,) And we shall speake with the enemy in the gate. *And the righteous shall be delivered out of trouble, and the wicked shall come in his stead,* Prov. 11. 8.

I have many other things to write to you, which I will delay til I have the opportunity to write a second Epistle, which shall be, so soone as I heare what fruits this first Epistle shall produce: Which, I pray you cause to be printed among you for your common good, because I could not get many copies sent to you, being so far from you beyond sea. If AS's *Bridles* was thought worthy to be printed by your authority, in contempt of the Bishops; why may not this my Epistle be printed, for the edification of your Societie. Let it not offend you that I have not railed in this my Epistle against authority in Church and policie: for our Society hath been so oft reproved for railing that I doe now begin to forbeare it, for the honour of our Order, neither will we permit infamous Pasquils longer to come forth, and it were good that you did so too, and let us speak home to the purpose, convincing our adversaries with evident reasons; and make their errours and heresies known to the world, rather then to vent our spleen against them with calumnies; This doth but open the mouth of our adversaries; but that will stop it: this makes disgrace return upon our selves, but the other, makes us gracious. If we raile, when we should reason, we get no answer, but *increpet te Dominus*. But when we reason, without railing; we beget in them *dissentiendi pudorem & veritatis timorem*. A bashfulnes to dissent from us, and a reverence of the truth; which in time, will bring forth a profession of it

Farewell.

From my study at *Basileopolis*
The first of Ianuary,
1640.